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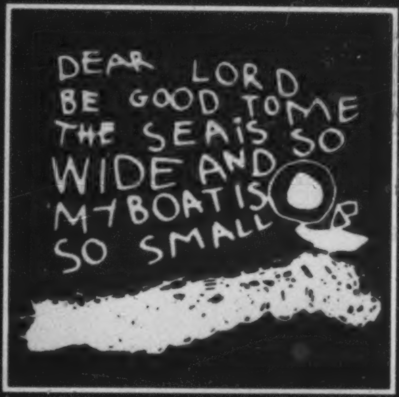
A Children's Defense Budget


DEAR LORD
BE GOOD TO ME
THE SEA IS SO
WIDE AND
MY BOAT IS
SO SMALL

FY 1989

An Analysis of Our Nation's Investment in Children

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

ABOUT CDF

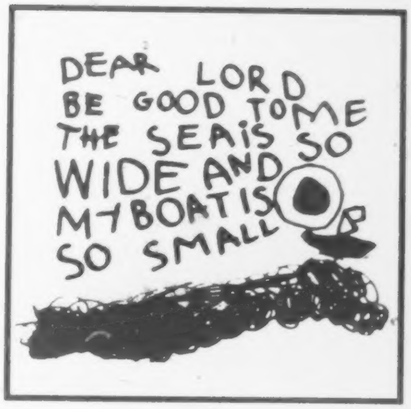
The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) exists to provide a strong and effective voice for the children of America who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. We pay particular attention to the needs of poor, minority, and handicapped children. Our goal is to educate the nation about the needs of children and encourage preventive investment in children before they get sick, drop out of school, suffer family breakdown, or get into trouble.

CDF is a unique organization. CDF focuses on programs and policies that affect large numbers of children, rather than on helping families on a case-by-case basis. Our staff includes specialists in health, education, child welfare, mental health, child development, adolescent pregnancy prevention, and youth employment. CDF gathers data and disseminates information on key issues affecting children. We monitor the development and implementation of federal and state policies. We provide information, technical assistance, and support to a network of state and local child advocates. We pursue an annual legislative agenda in the United States Congress and litigate selected cases of major importance. CDF's major initiatives include our adolescent pregnancy prevention program and a prenatal care campaign. CDF educates thousands of citizens annually about children's needs and responsible policy options for meeting those needs.

CDF is a national organization with roots in communities across America. Although our main office is in Washington, D.C., we reach out to towns and cities across the country to monitor the effects of changes in national and state policies and to help people and organizations who are concerned with what happens to children. CDF maintains state offices in Minnesota, Mississippi, Ohio, Texas, and Virginia. CDF has developed cooperative projects with groups in many states.

CDF is a private organization supported by foundations, corporate grants, and individual donations.

A Children's Defense Budget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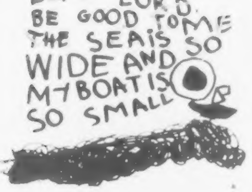
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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the memory of:

Shamal Jackson, who died in New York City at eight months of age, a victim of homelessness and poverty, complicated by low birthweight, poor nutrition, viral infection, and sleeping in shelters, welfare hotels, and the subway.

Anthony and Maurice, three and four years old, who died in Florida for lack of child care. Their mother worked and used informal child care while they were on a waiting list for state child care assistance that had 22,000 other families on it. Home alone one day when informal care fell through, Anthony and Maurice climbed into a clothes dryer with a magazine, closed the door, and tumbled and burned to death.

Kimberly, age three and a half, who died from internal injuries inflicted by her parents. The child welfare system in her state knew that Kimberly had been abused, but apparently lost track of the case and supervision of her home stopped.

And the more than 10,000 American children who unnecessarily die each year from preventable poverty and abuse.

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FOREWORD

WHO'S WATCHING THE CHILDREN?

"If the child is safe everyone is safe."

G. Campbell Morgan, "The Children's Playground in the City of God," The Westminster Pulpit, p. 262 (circa 1908)

"Imagine our surprise now to turn and see that despite our great defenses our homes have been pillaged again. Our children abused. Our wives battered. Our parents abandoned . . . Our homes infected with strange diseases: anorexia, bulemia, alcoholism, drug abuse, the suicide of adolescents. The bonds of our most solemn commitments are put to the test in our homes."

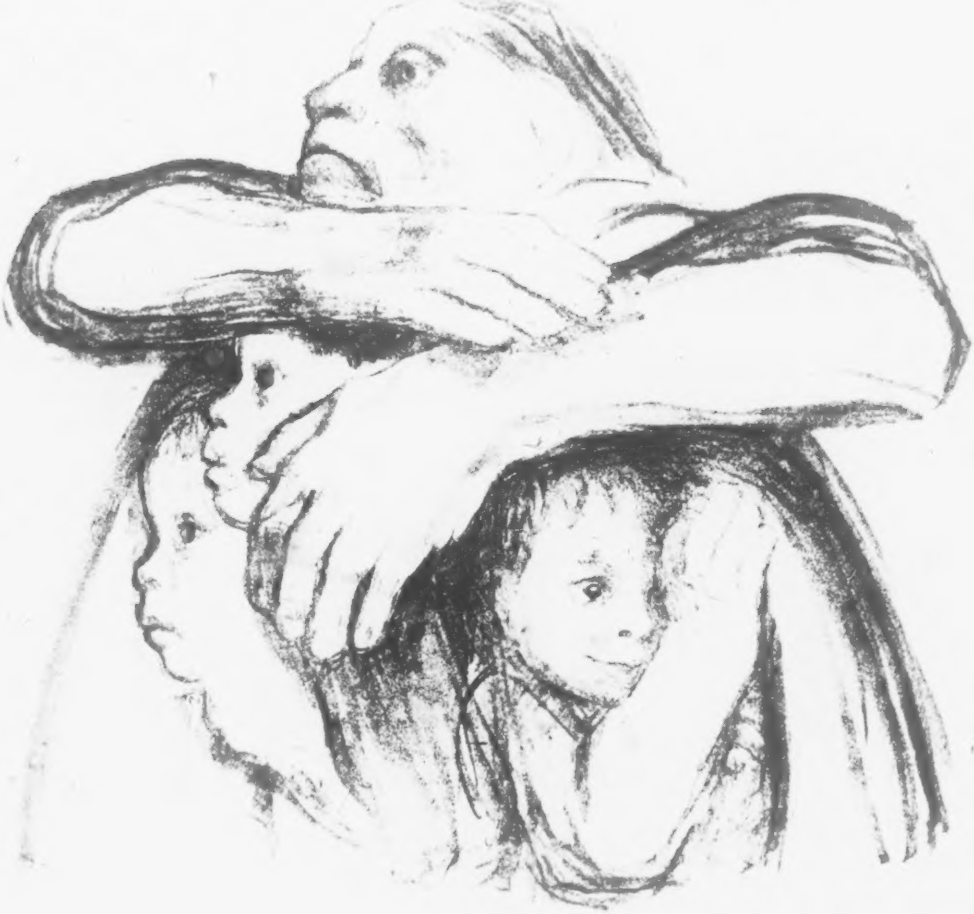
James Carroll, "Our Homes, God's House" (speech at St. John the Divine, 1985)

"There is no finer investment for any community than putting milk into babies."

Winston Churchill (1943)

The first high school graduating class of the twenty-first century will enter first grade in September 1988. They are the future workers, parents, college students, taxpayers, soldiers, leaders, and American hope of the twenty-first century. Many of them are off to a healthy start. But millions of them are not. Today:

- One in four of them is poor;
- One in five is at risk of becoming a teen parent;
- One in six has no health insurance;
- One in seven is at risk of dropping out of school;
- One in two has a mother in the labor force but only a minority have safe, affordable, quality child care.



Seeds for sowing shall not be milled.

Käthe Kollwitz, 1942

Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, New York

Our society is aging and the number of children and youths in relation to other age groups in the population is declining. If current trends continue, a disproportionate number of our young will grow up poor, undereducated, and untrained at the very time that our society will need all of our young to be healthy, educated, and productive.

It is not just the 13 million poor children, or the millions more in moderate-income families who are still child care poor, housing poor, health insurance poor, and higher education poor, who must struggle to keep their foothold in the American Dream and who are unsure about their futures. A growing number of privileged youths suffer from spiritual poverty, afflicted by what John Levy of the Jung Institute labels "affluenza." The symptoms include boredom, low self-esteem, and lack of motivation—the products, he suggests, of "the family wealth that insulates children from challenge, risk, and consequence." In increasing numbers, the *New York Times* has reported, psychologists and psychiatrists are finding parallels between children of the urban rich and poor. "They both suffer from broken homes and absentee parents . . . Both move around easily accessible drugs, alcohol, and sex."

Willingness to protect children is a moral litmus test of any decent and compassionate society. It is also a test of the common sense of any nation seeking to preserve itself and its future. In a recent report of the Committee for Economic Development (CED), *Children in Need: Investment Strategies for the Economically Disadvantaged*, 225 corporate executive officers and university presidents stated the national self-interest in investing in children: "This nation cannot continue to compete and prosper in the global arena when more than one-fifth of our children live in poverty and a third grow up in ignorance. And if the nation cannot compete, it cannot lead. If we continue to squander the talents of millions of our children America will become a nation of limited human potential. It would be tragic if we allow this to happen. America must become a land of opportunity—for every child."

When Israel stood to receive the Torah,
The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them:
I am giving you my Torah. Bring me good guarantors
that you will guard it, and I shall give it to
you.
They said: Our fathers are our guarantors.
The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them:
Your fathers are unacceptable to me.
Yet bring me good guarantors, and I shall give it to you.
They said to him:
Master of the Universe, our prophets are our
guarantors.
He said to them:
Your prophets are unacceptable to me.
Yet bring me good guarantors, and I shall give it to
you.
Behold, our children are our guarantors.
The Holy One, blessed be He, said:
They are certainly good guarantors.
For their sake, I give you the Torah.

Canticles Rabbah (Midrash)

Our message in this watershed election year is stark and urgent: America must save all of its children if it is to save itself and be prepared to meet the future. While children cannot vote, lobby for, or implement the policies and investment they need to grow up safe, healthy, educated, and secure, you and I can. The leadership choices we make in 1988 and beyond will set the American course and influence the world course into the twenty-first century.

All Americans must come together now to stop publicly sanctioned child abuse and neglect and to urge those seeking and holding public office to commit themselves to making preventive investment in our children and families the cornerstone of national domestic policy in the coming political era. This commitment must go beyond rhetoric and be bolstered by a comprehensive, well-conceived national investment strategy in specific, cost-effective, successful programs for children and families beginning in 1988 and sustained over the next decade.

Although there are no cheap, quick, easy, or single fixes for the too-long neglected needs of our children and families, there are solutions within our means now to save millions of children. We know a lot about what works and have a foundation of cost-effective successes for children upon which to build that did not exist twenty years ago when the War on Poverty was beginning. What is missing is the moral and political urgency required to make children and families a leading national priority. That is why CDF has launched a broad-based public awareness campaign this year to combat convenient ignorance about the pandemic needs of our children and families, their profound implications for the economic and social well-being of all Americans, the positive choices we have, and the steps we can take beginning now to strengthen families and to make our nation a safe place for children and for all of us.

Our Children Are Not Physically, Educationally, Economically, or Spirtually Safe

Our children are not physically safe from preventable infant mortality. A black baby born in our nation's capital or in Boston or Indianapolis is more likely to die before his or her first birthday than a baby born in Jamaica. Any American baby is more likely to die in the first year of life than a baby born in Singapore. In 1985 the white infant mortality rate alone placed the United States fourteenth worldwide, behind Hong Kong and Japan. The black infant mortality rate alone placed us twenty-eighth in the world behind Cuba and Bulgaria and equal to Costa Rica and Poland. And we are moving backwards on key indicators. Between 1984 and 1985 there was a national rise in infant mortality for black and nonwhite babies in the first twenty-eight days of life—the first such increase in twenty years. White infant mortality rates for babies in the first year of life increased in nineteen states. Based on 1985 infant mortality rates, America lost white babies at a rate twice that of Japan and black babies at three times Japan's rate.

These infant mortality increases were accompanied by national rises in rates of low-birthweight births, premature births, women receiving late or no prenatal care, and black maternal mortality. Many of these deaths and low-birthweight births are preventable with cost-effective prenatal care. That black babies still die at twice the rate of white babies and at rates worse than babies in some Third World countries cannot but tarnish the appeal of the American Dream and send a signal of racial injustice and insensitivity to a world two-thirds nonwhite and predominantly poor.

Infant Mortality Rates, Selected Countries, 1985

Rank	Country	Rate*
1	Finland	6
1	Japan	6
1	Sweden	6
4	France	8
4	Denmark	8
4	Netherlands	8
4	Norway	8
4	Switzerland	8
9	Australia	9
9	Belgium	9
9	Canada	9
9	Hong Kong	9
9	Singapore	9
14	German Democratic Republic	10
14	Germany, Federal Republic	10
14	Ireland	10
14	Spain	10
14	United Kingdom	10
	U.S. (White)	10
19	Austria	11
19	Italy	11
19	United States (Total)	11
22	New Zealand	12
23	Israel	13
24	Greece	14
25	Cuba	15
25	Czechoslovakia	15
27	Bulgaria	16
28	Costa Rica	19
28	Poland	19
28	Portugal	19
	U.S. (Black)	19

*Deaths per 1,000 live births.

Source: UNICEF.

Between 1978 and 1990 the nation will have spent $2.5 billion in first-year costs alone to care for more than 334,000 low-birthweight infants whose tragedies could have been averted through adequate prenatal care. For the same money we could have:

- **Fully immunized 33 million children;**
- **Provided 68.8 million food packages under the WIC program;**
- **Provided comprehensive prenatal care to 3.5 million women; or**
- **Provided comprehensive pediatric care to 4.7 million children.**

American children are not safe from preventable childhood diseases. At a time when UNICEF is mounting a worldwide immunization campaign, American leadership on immunizing our own children has faltered. The incidence of infectious childhood disease among American children is rising while child immunization rates are declining, especially among children from birth to two years of age.

In 1985 one in three nonwhite inner-city one- to four-year-olds had received no immunization doses against measles, mumps, or rubella. At the current level of funding and outreach, we will not come close to meeting the U.S. Surgeon General's modest 1990 goal of immunization for 90 percent of our children. Indeed, we have been moving in the wrong direction for five years.

More than 35 million Americans—a third of whom are children—lack any type of health insurance, public or private. Only the United States and South Africa among industrialized nations fail to provide all children and families a basic floor of health protection against illness and disease. In 1986, Medicaid, the largest public health program for poor children, served 200,000 fewer children than it reached in 1978 when there were nearly a third fewer poor children.

American children are not safe from hunger and malnutrition. Although child hunger was virtually eliminated in the 1970s with the expansion of federal food programs in the Nixon years, the Physician Task Force on Hunger in America reports it stalks our land again, afflicting an estimated 20 million Americans each month. Nearly half a million children are malnourished. Yet the number of food stamp recipients, one-half of whom are children, dropped from sixty-eight to sixty for every 100 poor people between 1980 and 1986.

> **"Every night it's the same old thing. We go to the church for dinner, walk home to our one bedroom apartment and go in bed for a night full of bad dreams. In the morning we walk around town looking for food in garbage cans. We find cereal boxes with a little cereal left in it and a rotten apple. At six o'clock we start walking to the church for our dinner. I made a poem that expresses my feelings about the way my day crawls by:**
>
> **Cereal and a rotten apple for breakfast**
> **Nothing for lunch**
> **A dinner at the Baptist church**
> **And that's the way my day goes by."**
>
> **Cathy, a fifth-grader**
> **from New Mexico**

American children are not safe from growing homelessness. Hundreds of thousands of children literally have no place of their own to lay their heads as family homelessness escalates, as family housing supply shrinks, and as wages drop and rents soar. When eight-month-old Shamal Jackson died in New York City, the cause of his death was poverty complicated by low birthweight, poor nutrition, homelessness, and viral infection. During his short life he had never slept in an apartment or house. He had been in shelters with strangers, in hospitals, in welfare hotels, in the welfare office, and in the subways which he and his mother rode late at night when there was no place else to go. Shamal was only one small victim of our nation's failure to respond to the pervasive child poverty that kills an American child every fifty-three minutes in our nation of boastful affluence. We lose more children to poverty every five years than we lost in battle casualties during the Vietnam War.

American children are not safe from abuse, neglect, and violence. There were an estimated 2.2 million reported cases of abuse or neglect in 1986. And it is not just poor children who are physically abused, as we saw in the recent tragic beating death of six-year-old Elizabeth Steinberg and the neglect of her toddler brother, Mitchell, whose legal adoption and protection by a well-to-do professional New York couple our public child welfare system failed to ensure.

The violence in too many of our homes is mirrored in the violence in too many of our streets. Homicide is the fifteenth leading cause of infant death. Every year guns take the lives of 3,200 innocent children and auto accidents, many at the hands of drunk drivers, steal 10,500 child lives, three times more than cancer. Every day parents and children in the Henry Horner Homes in Chicago walk to school through a war zone controlled by lawless gangs. The *New York Times* editorial page described children "exposed daily to stray bullets and to the violent deaths of siblings and schoolmates. Their experience at times sounds like that of the children of Belfast or Beirut."

One Day in the Lives of American Children

16,200	**women get pregnant**
2,753	**of them are teenagers**
1,099	**teenagers have abortions**
367	**teenagers miscarry**
1,287	**teenagers give birth**
666	**babies are born to women who have had inadequate prenatal care**
695	**babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5 lbs., 9 oz.)**
44	**babies are born at very low birthweight (less than 3 lbs., 5 oz.)**
72	**babies die before one month of life**
110	**babies die before their first birthday**
27	**children die because of poverty**
9	**children die from guns**
5	**teens commit suicide**
849	**teens become sexually active**
609	**teenagers get syphilis or gonorrhea**
1,868	**teenagers drop out of high school**
988	**children are abused**
3,288	**children run away from home**
1,736	**children are in adult jails**
2,269	**children are born out of wedlock**
2,989	**children see their parents divorced**
36,057	**people lose jobs**

America's Young Families: Under Siege

As major changes have swept through and transformed our economy and our job market in the past decade and a half, children and young adults have borne more than their fair share of the resulting turmoil. Older teens and adults in their twenties are worse off economically than their peers in the early 1970s, while other American adults are generally as well or better off than their peers at that time. Our nation's children—so many of whom are growing up in families headed by young people—have been hit hard as a result. Young families are caught in a cycle of shrinking wages, low marriage rates, and prevalent poverty.

- From 1970 to 1986 economic growth in this country was very modest. What growth did occur helped American households from all regions and age groups with one exception: young families. Median family income went up 4 percent nationwide (in inflation-adjusted dollars). Income was up for families where the household head was thirty-five or older. But median income declined 3 percent for families with a twenty-five- to thirty-five-year-old household head and 24 percent for those with a fifteen- to twenty-four-year-old head. Almost all of that drop has occurred since 1979.

Young adults, who have always had lower earning power, are seeing their paychecks shrink more and more, especially when compared with paychecks received by older workers.

- From 1973 to 1986 alone, the average earnings of twenty- to twenty-four-year-old males, after adjustment for inflation, fell by more than 25 percent.
- In 1967 sixteen- to twenty-four-year-old males working full time had median weekly earnings worth 74 percent of those of older full-time male workers. By 1987 that proportion fell to 53 percent. For young women working full time the relative drop in those two decades was even steeper—from 94 percent to 69 percent of older women's wages.

These earnings declines discourage many young people from getting married and starting families. As Ben Franklin observed more than two centuries ago: "The number of marriages...is greater in proportion to the ease and convenience of supporting a family."

- The proportion of young men earning enough to lift a family of three above the federal poverty line fell by nearly a third from 1973 to 1984. As earnings fall, marriage rates fall: young men with earnings above the poverty line for a family of three are three to four times more likely to be married than their peers with sub-poverty earnings. Not surprisingly, therefore, from 1974 to 1985 marriage rates among young men fell by one-half. Out-of-wedlock birth rates and the proportion of children living in single-parent families rose substantially.

Declining incomes for young families, exacerbated by lower marriage rates, mean higher poverty rates for children.

- The poverty rate for all American adults was slightly lower in 1986 than in 1970, but for eighteen- to forty-four-year-olds it was 27 percent higher, and for children younger than eighteen it was up 40 percent.
- A staggering 80 percent of the households headed by women younger than twenty-five were poor as of 1985.

American children are not safe from physical and ethical environmental pollution. With lead on the walls, in the air and water, and now even in mothers' breast milk; with acid rain and the ozone effect; with toxic waste and contaminated food, parents can no longer assume the safety of anything in their children's daily environment. And all American families must struggle to maintain control over their children's ethical environment where instant sex without consequence, instant gratification without effort, instant solutions without sacrifice, getting rather than giving, and hoarding rather than sharing are the too-frequent signals of our mass media and popular culture.

American children are not safe from too-early sexual activity, pregnancy, abortion, and parenthood. A million girls get pregnant each year and half of them have their children. Two-thirds of teen parents are white, two-thirds are not poor, and two-thirds are not living in inner-cities, although poor and minority girls are disproportionately likely to become teen parents. The urgency of communicating with our children about their sexuality, providing positive life options, and encouraging sexual responsibility and constructive alternatives is heightened now by the deadly threat of AIDS. Further, teens are the group most likely to contract a range of other sexually transmitted diseases. They need responsible adult voices in the home, school, and religious congregation telling them about the consequences of premature and unprotected sex to counter the messages of bliss without responsibility frequently transmitted by mass media and rock music. It is not just teens who are at risk from sexually transmitted diseases. Of the 682 cases of children (younger than age thirteen) with AIDS reported as of November 1987, nearly two-thirds have died. Experts project that by 1991 there may be as many as 10,000 to 20,000 cases of pediatric AIDS in this country alone.

Our children are not educationally safe. One in seven is at risk of dropping out of school. And millions more who remain in school are not developing the strong basic skills they need to become productive workers. This has disastrous consequences for the young people themselves and for the American economy now and in the future. Youths who by age eighteen have the weakest reading and math skills, when compared with those with above-average basic skills, are eight times more likely to bear children out of wedlock, nine times more likely to drop out of school before graduation, five times more likely to be out of work, and are four times more likely to be on public assistance. More than three-fourths of all poor youths have below-average basic skills.

American students of all income groups ranked well below average in an international test of mathematical skills of eighth grade students; even our most advanced twelfth grade mathematics students ranked next to last. Our children's language preparation lags behind that of our chief competitor for world military and economic leadership. There are more Soviet teachers of English than there are American students of Russian. In 1986 Japan had over 15,000 students in the United States; we had fewer than 1,500 students in Japan. Our children are not being prepared to communicate and compete in a multi-racial, multi-cultural, and multi-lingual world.

Our children are not economically safe. Of every 100 children born today, thirteen will be born to teenage mothers, fifteen will be born into households where no parent is employed, fifteen will be born into households with a working parent earning a below-poverty wage, and twenty-five will be on welfare at some point prior to adulthood.

The national investment priorities of this decade, which placed missiles and bombs ahead of mothers and babies, have bequeathed us the highest child poverty rates in fifteen years, 6 million more poor people, 7 million Americans without the work that gives meaning to life, and 35 million uninsured

The President's Fiscal Year 1989 Budget: The Numbers

	FY 1989 Current Policy (millions)	FY 1989 Proposed (millions)	Change Proposed (millions)	Change Proposed (percent)
Categorical Programs				
Compensatory Education	$4,327.9	$4,566.1	$238.2	5.5
Handicapped Education	1,869.0	1,916.9	47.9	2.6
Low-Income Housing	7,419.0	6,583.0	-836.0	-11.3
Supplemental Food (WIC)	1,802.4	1,871.9	69.5	3.9
Temporary Emergency Food	50.0	0.0	-50.0	-100.0
Emergency Food and Shelter	114.0	80.0	-34.0	-29.8
Maternal/Child Health	526.6	561.0	34.4	6.5
Mental Health Block Grant	487.3	509.0	21.7	4.5
Child Welfare Services	239.4	239.4	0.0	0.0
Social Services Block Grant	2,750.0	2,700.0	-50.0	-1.8
Community Service Block Grant	382.0	310.0	-72.0	-18.8
Juvenile Justice	68.6	0.0	-68.6	-100.0
Head Start	1,206.3	1,206.3	0.0	0.0
Energy Assistance	1,531.8	1,187.0	-344.8	-22.5
Summer Jobs	718.1	718.1	0.0	0.0
Job Corps	716.1	710.6	-5.5	-0.8
Work Incentives	92.6	0.0	-92.6	-100.0
Legal Services	305.5	250.0	-55.5	-18.2
Entitlements				
Food Stamps	12,519.7	12,519.7	0.0	0.0
Child Nutrition	5,013.3	5,013.3	0.0	0.0
AFDC & Child Support	10,704.3	10,723.1	18.8	0.2
Foster Care & Adoption	1,074.9	1,074.9	0.0	0.0
Medicaid	32,732.6	32,319.6	-413.0	-1.3
Total	$86,651.4	$85,059.9	-$1,591.5	-1.8

Federal Outlays per Person (FY 1988 Dollars) for National Defense, Interest Payments on the National Debt, and for Programs for Low-Income Families and Children

Fiscal Years 1980-1993

Fiscal Year	National Defense	Debt Payments	Low-Income Programs
1980	$812.81	$318.54	$525.83
1981	851.49	371.56	531.20
1982	924.81	424.18	463.67
1983	1,002.95	428.96	471.41
1984	1,042.55	509.13	471.52
1985	1,107.77	567.28	476.61
1986	1,162.21	578.05	487.98
1987	1,156.81	568.44	488.97
1988	1,111.97	576.08	516.98
1989*	1,090.53	563.05	521.63
1990*	1,085.20	555.28	523.28
1991*	1,089.45	543.05	522.74
1992*	1,100.86	498.51	522.26
1993*	1,118.47	453.52	525.25
Change FY 1980- FY 1993			
in real dollars	+$ 305.66	+$ 134.98	-$ 0.58
in percent	+ 37.6%	+ 42.4%	-0.1%

*FY 1989-1993 based on President's budget proposals.

Where Your Tax Dollars Go

In 1985 the median American household income was $23,618. The Internal Revenue Service reports that the group of households whose before-tax income ranged from $22,500 to $24,999 (averaging $23,710) paid $3,145 in federal income and payroll (FICA) taxes. The following chart divides $3,145 in the proportions that the federal government spent money in FY 1985, giving a snapshot of where an average household's tax payments can be said to have gone.

National defense	$840	32.9%
Military retirement	53	
Veterans' benefits	88	
International affairs	54	
Net interest	430	13.7%
Agriculture and farming	85	8.4%
Transportation	86	
Science, energy & environment	92	
Social Security	627	31.7%
Railroad retirement and related programs	19	
Federal employee retirement	76	
Medicare	219	
Medicaid, except for children and their caretakers	56	
SSI	32	7.1%
Housing & energy assistance	91	
Food stamps	42	
Unemployment	58	
Medicaid for children and caretakers	19	5.3%
Child nutrition and WIC	20	
AFDC & child support	31	
Earned income tax credit payments	4	
Health care services	10	
Education, except higher education	29	
Higher education	27	
Job Training Partnership Act	6	
Summer Youth Employment	3	
Job Corps	2	
Social Services Block Grant	9	
Head Start	4	
Family social services	2	
Other	31	1.0%
Total	$3,145	

Americans whose only shield against sickness is prayer. Unemployment coupled with an eroding family wage base and a shrinking housing supply for low- and moderate-income families have left hundreds of thousands of defenseless children and their families in economic limbo. Young families struggling to get off the ground face a future mortgaged to foreign investors. And a generation of children are indentured to a national debt of $2 trillion, an amount that exceeds the gross national product of every nation but our own and on which the interest payments alone, about $157 billion a year, could eliminate child poverty almost ten times over.

Despite current claims of economic prosperity by some, economic storm clouds dot the horizon. The gap between the rich and the poor continues to grow and the status of the middle class to stagnate. The share of household income of the poorest fifth of the American people declined between 1970 and 1986, while that of the richest fifth rose (from 43.3 percent to 46.1 percent). The middle class slid from 52.7 to 50.2 percent of household income in the same period.

Our tax system reflects a similar skewing of benefits for the rich at the expense of the poor and middle class. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) reported that "the poorest one-tenth of Americans will pay 20 percent more of their earnings next year than they did in 1977 and the richest will pay almost 20 percent less." CBO also reports that "even more striking than the change in tax burden has been the shift in income: average real income has increased in this country, not because average working class families are better off but because the highest income families have had such a tremendous increase in their incomes .... By the end of 1988, 80 percent of families will have seen their income decline since 1977 when adjusted to account for inflation. But the richest 10 percent will see an average increase of 16 percent, the top 5 percent will average a 23 percent rise and the richest 1 percent will see their income grow by 50 percent ...."

This may be the first time in our history that the American dream of a better life for our children may be in retreat. Not only may our children not do better than their parents, they may do worse.

Our children are not spiritually safe. The standard of success for too many Americans has become personal greed rather than common good. The standard for striving and achievement has become getting by rather than going the last mile or making an extra effort. Truth-telling and moral example have become devalued commodities. The philosophy that "government is not the solution to our problem, government is the problem" has contributed to a dominance of people who think of government as a presumptively illegitimate enterprise. If the public purposes of one's job are not considered a high calling, and if government has no purpose other than its own destruction, the restraints against unethical behavior in both the public and private sectors quickly erode. As a result, for every Michael Deaver there is an Ivan Boesky or a Reverend Jim Bakker and his Tammy. And we need a full-fledged congressional investigation just to figure out if Richard Secord's greed is public or private sector greed. This decline in ethics has led not only to financial venality but has made a casualty of honesty. One need only look to the congressional testimony of Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams on Central American policy to know that we no longer require truth-telling as a precondition for holding high government office. Should we wonder, then, why so many of our children flounder as they shadow our steps. If the only principle our society adheres to is economist Adam Smith's "Invisible Hand," it leaves little or no room for the hand of man, or the hand of God, whom the prophet Micah said enjoined us "to be fair and just and merciful." There is then a moral drift and hollowness

The Regulations

The other day I happened to walk through the Borovitsky Gate (in Moscow). In the gateway sat an old and crippled beggar with his head wrapped in a rag. I took out my purse to give him a trifle. At that moment a smart-looking, ruddy young fellow, in a grenadier's uniform, came running down from the Kremlin. On seeing him the beggar started up in a fright, and hobbled away as fast as he could down towards the Alexander Garden. The grenadier gave chase, but, not gaining on him, stopped, and abused him with shouts for having broken the regulations by sitting in the gateway. I waited for the grenadier, and when he came up, asked if he had learnt to read.

'Yes, I have. What then?'

'Have you read the Gospel?'

'I have.'

'Well, have you read the passage, "All he who feeds the hungry..."?' And I quoted the words.

He knew it, and listened to me. I saw that he was puzzled. Two passers-by stopped to listen. The grenadier evidently felt it rather hard that, when he had done his duty well by driving people away according to his orders, he should suddenly appear to be in the wrong. He was confused, and was evidently seeking for an excuse. Suddenly a light shone in his intelligent black eyes; he turned away from me as if going. 'And have you read the military regulations?'

I answered that I had not done so.

'Then hold your tongue!' said he, shaking his head triumphantly, as, wrapping his fur coat round him, he stalked proudly to his post.

This was the only man I had ever met in my life who with strict logic had decided the eternal question which, in our actual social state, lay before me, and lies before every man calling himself a Christian.

Leo Tolstoy

left at the core of a society if its members share no common purpose, mutual goals, joint vision—nothing to believe in except self-aggrandizement.

Only a society with an eroded ethical base would allow more than a fifth of its children to live in abject poverty in the midst of the greatest affluence the world has ever known and to have the audacity to think it does not and will not affect us all. Yet the poor black youths who shoot up drugs on street corners and the rich white youths who shoot up drugs in their mansions share a common disconnectedness from any larger hope and purpose, sense of community, and shared strivings. A friend recently asked how we can expect homeless children with no space or place of their own to respect the private property of others as they grow up. The rising rates of teen suicides, drug and alcohol abuse, and out-of-wedlock births among youths of all races and income groups in every area of our country reflect a moral drift that cries out for correction.

The overarching task of leadership today in every segment of American society is to give our youths, and all Americans, a sense that we can be engaged in enterprises that lend meaning to life, that we can regain control over our families and our national destiny, and can make a positive difference individually and collectively in building a decent, safe nation and world. A BMW with a vanity license plate may be a shallow goal, but our society offers too few substitutes for our young, elderly, or for any of us. This is the real and tragic meaning of the current era.

Time To Change Course: An Alternative Vision

> "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."
>
> Isaiah 2:4
> Micah 4:3

> "And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof."
>
> Zechariah 8:5

These visions of the Old Testament prophets Isaiah and Micah of a warless world and of Zechariah of city streets where children can safely play are as urgent and fresh for our arms-crazed and money-mad world today and tomorrow as they were centuries ago. That they still elude us does not exempt us from our quest. Indeed the pervasive poverty and suffering of children at home and all over the world, the oppressive clouds of racial and religious conflicts and of nuclear holocaust render our strivings for peace and economic justice more urgent now than ever before.

The seed of hope planted by the Washington, D.C. nuclear arms summit between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan is an impetus for all of us to plant other seeds of hope in a hope-starved world that humankind's other great enemy—the poverty that kills 38,000 children a day, twenty-seven a day in America—also can be defeated. But fairness to the poor and the young must begin at home, with each of us, in our own families and communities, if it is to be transmitted abroad.

Moral and Economic Leadership for the Future

The United States must become a developed nation in the care and protection of our young over the next decade. Our poor ranking in infant mortality and low-birthweight rates; our failure, almost alone among industrialized nations, to provide prenatal care and health coverage to all mothers and children; our lack of adequate child care, parental leave, and family support policies; our epidemic teen pregnancy, birth, and abortion rates; the high proportion of children who are poor and poorly educated, threaten not only our economic security and ability to compete, but make a mockery of our pretension to be a moral, family-oriented, opportunity society worthy of emulation by others.

A great people faces up to its problems and keeps abreast of, indeed anticipates, the changing world around it. A great people develops and nurtures great leaders. Great leaders have the capacity to see problems whole, to help us understand and interpret them, to break them down into manageable pieces for action, and to prepare us for the future. Great leaders and great people make great nations. Great nations engage in great undertakings. Great undertakings, like saving our children and strengthening our families, are positive, enhance human well-being, challenge human spirits, include all elements of the

Selected Federal Programs for Children

Those who tell us that federal investment in children and families began in 1965 with The Great Society are incorrect. It began during the nation's formative years.

1787	The Northwest Ordinance grants federal lands to the states to help maintain public schools.
1796	President Washington recommends the establishment of a national university.
1813	President Madison signs a law encouraging vaccination.
1857	President Buchanan signs a law incorporating the institution for the deaf and blind that later becomes Gallaudet College.
1862	President Lincoln signs Morrill Act, granting land for colleges.
1865	President Lincoln signs a law creating the Freedmen's Bureau, providing 15 million food vouchers, clothing, income supplements, job training, energy assistance, and housing assistance for a quarter of a million families, and medical expense reimbursement for a million persons.
1874	President Grant signs the Padrone Act outlawing traffic in Italian children brought to the United States for exploitation as beggars.
1912	President Taft signs law creating the U.S. Children's Bureau "to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children."
1917	President Wilson signs the Smith-Hughes Act to support vocational education.
1921	President Harding signs the Sheppard-Towner Act creating a federal-state program for maternal and infant health.
1933 & 1942	President Roosevelt signs laws providing federal funds for nursery schools and day care.
1935	President Roosevelt signs law creating Social Security, AFDC, and unemployment compensation.
1946	President Truman signs the National School Lunch Act.
1954	President Eisenhower signs amendments allowing the child care tax credit.
1958	President Eisenhower signs the National Defense Education Act to provide federal funds to public schools to improve training in science, mathematics, languages, and counseling, as well as funds for higher education student loans and other programs.
1961	President Kennedy signs a law creating the AFDC-Unemployed Parent program for two-parent families.

Selected Federal Programs for Children *(cont'd.)*

1964	**President Johnson signs the Economic Opportunity Act, creating Head Start, Job Corps, and other educational and occupational training programs for children.**
1965	**President Johnson signs the Medicare and Medicaid law, as well as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act giving funds for school programs for children of low-income families.**
1970	**President Nixon signs the Education of the Handicapped Act.**
1974	**President Ford signs the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act and Runaway Youth Act.**
1980	**President Carter signs the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act to assure major reforms in state foster care and child welfare services systems.**
1984, 1986, & 1987	**President Reagan signs laws expanding Medicaid eligibility for pregnant women and young children.**

From *Families In Peril* by Marian Wright Edelman, Harvard University Press, Copyright 1987 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

community, unify rather than divide, protect the weak against the strong, and check our human foibles by infusing us with a larger vision of ourselves.

The battle for the future, for which we must mobilize nationally to fight together, is not in the stars but in our homes, neighborhoods, cities, and countrysides. To win this battle, the nation must place the highest priority on supporting families and family life as the stresses of parenting increase, and as more and more parents seek to juggle survival, child care, escalating housing and higher education costs, job uncertainty, and eroding wages with less support from extended family, community, employer, or government.

At a time when the family is imperiled by extraordinary change and economic instability, every segment of American society must ask what it can do to support families and the healthy development of our young. At present, we do not value or provide adequate support either to parents who choose to

> **"When God wants an important thing done in this world or a wrong righted, He goes about it in a very singular way. He doesn't release thunderbolts or stir up earthquakes. God simply has a tiny baby born, perhaps of a very humble home, perhaps of a very humble mother. And God puts the idea or purpose into the mother's heart. And she puts it in the baby's mind, and then—God waits. The great events of this world are not battles and elections and earthquakes and thunderbolts. The great events are babies, for each child comes with the message that God is not yet discouraged with humanity, but is still expecting goodwill to become incarnate in each human life."**
>
> **Anonymous**

stay at home and raise their children or to those who enter the work place to try to make ends meet. Indeed, private sector or governmental policies frequently add to the stress of parenting and undermine rather than help keep families together.

I am encouraged that more and more national, state, and community leaders, including governors, mayors, corporate executives, educators, health professionals, and religious congregations, are recognizing that the real security of the nation rests in our young and are beginning to call for greater preventive investment in children and families. Their growing and positive concern must now be sustained and translated into specific national policy outcomes and into comprehensive community support systems beginning in 1988.

A Five-Step Preventive Investment Agenda For 1988

Investment 1: A mandated health floor under every low-income mother and child in the nation. To prevent rising infant mortality rates among black and nonwhite infants, stagnating mortality rates for all American babies, and increasing rates of low-birthweight births and further erosion of access to prenatal care, preventive health coverage for every uninsured low-income pregnant woman and child must be provided now under Medicaid. The estimated investment is $1.8 billion a year. This is less than the $2.025 billion the General Accounting Office estimates the military plans to spend for the unsuccessful Aquila remotely piloted reconnaisance vehicle whose television camera quality has been described by the Army's own testers as like "looking through a soda straw." It is also less than the $2.5 billion that the nation will have spent between 1978 and 1990 in first-year costs alone to care for more than 330,000 low-birthweight infants whose problems might have been averted through adequate prenatal care. Comprehensive prenatal care costs $600 per mother, while neonatal intensive care for a low-birthweight baby averages more than $1,000 a day.

Additionally, every eligible mother and child must be assured now the nutrition supplements provided by the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). The total FY 1989 investment would not exceed $4 billion. This is less than what we are spending on Star Wars (SDI) research in FY 1988. Every $1.00 invested in WIC saves an estimated $3.00 in reduced health costs.

To prevent the rising incidence of infectious childhood disease and declining immunization rates, and to reach the modest goal of the U.S. Surgeon General for immunization of 90 percent of children by 1990, a FY 1989 appropriation of $124 million for immunization grants—a $40 million increase over this year—is required. The total program costs less than we spend each year just on military bands or what we have spent since 1980 to subsidize beekeepers for excess honey. Immunization saves $10 for every $1.00 invested.

Investment 2: Enactment of the Act for Better Child Care Services (ABC) to provide safe child care for a modest percentage of the 9.5 million preschool children whose mothers are in the labor force. By 1995 this number will swell to 15 million. We must prevent the deaths of children like four-year-old Maurice and his three-year-old brother, Anthony, who died when left alone in their Dade County home after their mother's informal child care arrangements fell through. She and 22,000 other low-income working parents in Florida were on a waiting list for publicly subsidized child care—a list that grew to 30,000 in the year after Maurice and Anthony died. We must also prevent injuries to children like eighteen-month-old Jessica McClure, who fell down an open well shaft at an unregulated Texas family day care home. The FY 1989 investment cost of

ABC is $2.5 billion. This is about what we spend each year to provide safe custodial care for the surplus crops the federal government has bought.

Investment 3: An incremental increase in the successful Head Start program. Because basic academic skills are so important to teen pregnancy prevention and later success in life, because the foundation for high self-esteem and good school performance begins long before children reach the schoolhouse door, and because the successful Head Start program has demonstrated success in preparing and helping children do better in school, yet reaches only 18 percent of the eligible children, our goal over five years is to extend Head Start to at least half the poor three- to five-year-old children in America. To accomplish this, we must increase funding for the program by $400 million in each of the next five years. The estimated long-term savings are at least $4.75 for every $1.00 we invest in quality child care programs for poor preschool children. Each year's increase is less than the annual cost to test and buy spare parts for the B-1 bombers that do not fly right. We know that Head Start works.

1988 Children's Preventive Investment Agenda

Medicaid	**$1,800,000,000**
Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children	**$2,000,000,000**
Immunization	**$40,000,000**
Act for Better Child Care Services	**$2,500,000,000**
Head Start	**$400,000,000**
Chapter 1 Compensatory Education	**$500,000,000**
Minimum Wage, Adjustment for Inflation	**$ * ______**
Total	**$7,240,000,000**

***No federal cost**

Investment 4: Expansion of the successful Chapter 1 Compensatory Education program with a goal of serving all eligible children by 1992. The federal Chapter 1 program of special educational assistance for disadvantaged children has demonstrated success in helping children develop strong basic skills. The average Chapter 1 investment of $600 per pupil also helps avert the substantially larger cost of $4,000 incurred when a child must repeat a grade and the much higher long-term cost if a child drops out of school. It should be increased by $500 million each year (in real dollars) for the next five years to reach all rather than just the half of the eligible children currently served. The total additional cost is $2.5 billion. A recent study by more than 200 corporate and higher education leaders cited estimates that each year's class of dropouts

Successful Preventive Investments in Children

Programs	Benefits for Children
Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) (Served only 40 percent of those potentially eligible in 1987)	Reduction in infant mortality and low-birthweight births; improved nutritional outcomes for children in the first six years of life, including reduced anemia rates and better growth rates.
Medicaid, with Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment Services for Children (EPSDT) (In 1987 less than half of poor pregnant women and children were covered by Medicaid)	Earlier prenatal care, increased birthweight, decreased neonatal and postneonatal infant mortality and morbidity, and fewer abnormalities among children receiving comprehensive preventive services under EPSDT.
Childhood Immunization Program (In 1985 fewer children younger than two were immunized than in 1980)	Dramatic declines in the incidence of rubella, mumps, measles, polio, diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis; reduction in consequent impairments and institutionalization.
Child Care (Title XX serves fewer than half a million children of the nearly 5 million children younger than six who are poor)	More supportive child care as well as increased safety of child care for children who otherwise would be left untended or in potentially harmful arrangements. Increased well-being of children through higher parental earnings and self-sufficiency.
Head Start (Serves fewer than one in five eligible children)	Increased school success and eventual employability.
Chapter 1 Compensatory Education (Serves only about one-half of those in need)	Achievement gains and maintenance of gains in reading and mathematics while in the program.
Minimum Wage Increase (The minimum wage, unchanged since 1981, now provides a full-time, year-round worker wages that are 71 percent of the poverty line for a family of three)	Increased parental earnings and financial incentives to work. Adequate food and shelter for children.

Cost Savings

$1.00 invested in the prenatal component of WIC has saved as much as $3.00 in short-term hospital costs. Improved early nutrition has been shown to be effective in preventing retardation.

$1.00 spent on comprehensive prenatal care saves $3.38; 10 percent lower annual health care costs for children receiving EPSDT services.

$1.00 spent on the Childhood Immunization Program saves $10 in later medical costs.

Child care reimbursements cost the public a small fraction of what monthly welfare payments to a family without a working parent cost. In addition, employers and parents report less absenteeism and greater productivity if there is adequate child care.

$1.00 invested in quality preschool education returns $4.75 because of lower costs of special education, public assistance, and crime.

Investment of $600 for a child for one year of compensatory education can save $4,000 in the cost of a single repeated grade.

Reduced expenditures for income support programs targeted on low-income families; increased personal income and payroll tax revenues associated with increased employment and earnings.

costs the nation about $228 billion in lost earnings and $68 billion in lost taxes during their lifetime.

Investment 5: Bolstering family wages against inflation by raising the minimum wage. Although increasing numbers of homeless and hungry families with children are working, they are unable to stretch their stagnating and eroding incomes to meet rising rent and utility costs. Preventing growing child hunger and homelessness in America will require a number of steps to bolster family employment and income supports as well as to preserve and expand the housing stock available to low- and moderate-income families. Adjusting the minimum wage in 1988 and succeeding years to restore its 1979 value would immediately lift millions of American families out of poverty and help alleviate some of the child suffering rampant in our land. A minimum wage job today pays 71 percent of the federal poverty line for a family of three. For a family of four it is 56 percent. In the 1960s, a minimum wage job lifted a family of three above the poverty line.

A continuum of investment in prenatal care, preventive health care through age eighteen, Head Start, Chapter 1 Compensatory Education, summer jobs for the high school years, and four years of public college paid at public expense adds up to less than $39,000 for a child. That equals what seventeen months of prison costs per inmate—the average time served for a first conviction is 15.9 months. A year in prison costs $28,000.

Program	Annual Cost		Years of Investment	Total Cost
Medicaid	$ 500	X	18	$ 9,000
Head Start	$ 2,500	X	3	$ 7,500
Chapter 1	$ 600	X	12	$ 7,200
Summer jobs	$ 800	X	4	$ 3,200
Public college	$ 3,000	X	4	$12,000
Total				$38,900

The total proposed federal investment for all of these urgently needed steps in FY 1989 is $7.24 billion. This is less than the $12.4 billion annual revenue loss from the special tax break provided those who inherit corporate stock with untaxed capital gains. Current national policy favors the wealthy dead over the living young and poor.

In our 1988 detailed legislative agenda, we include a range of additional specific steps to help make our children physically, educationally, economically, and spiritually safer and to preserve our national future. But the five steps above are a minimum, achievable, and sensible beginning now. Forthcoming 1988 CDF publications will outline a policy agenda for the post-Reagan years.

A Comprehensive, Long-Term Approach is Needed

Families fall into and move out of poverty for many different reasons. We need immediate policies that ensure that any child whose family cannot provide the basic necessities is saved from "damage" while efforts are being made to help that family move out of poverty. But it is important that we also realize that poor children are at great risk of becoming poor adults unless we go beyond a "prevention of damage" agenda to formulate an aggressive "promotion of development" agenda. This requires programs and strategies that focus on giving disadvantaged children and youths the continuous resources and support they need to "move up in the queue" toward economic self-sufficiency.

Beyond helping the poor is the need to bolster the support systems and opportunities invaluable to millions of nonpoor families: child care, health insurance, child support, higher education, housing, jobs with a future, and opportunities for service.

And enveloping all of these specific steps must be a new climate in America that transmits to all young people a sense that they are valued and valuable, and that helps them develop and strive for adult family and leadership roles as a result of parental and leadership role models worthy of emulation.

What YOU Can Do

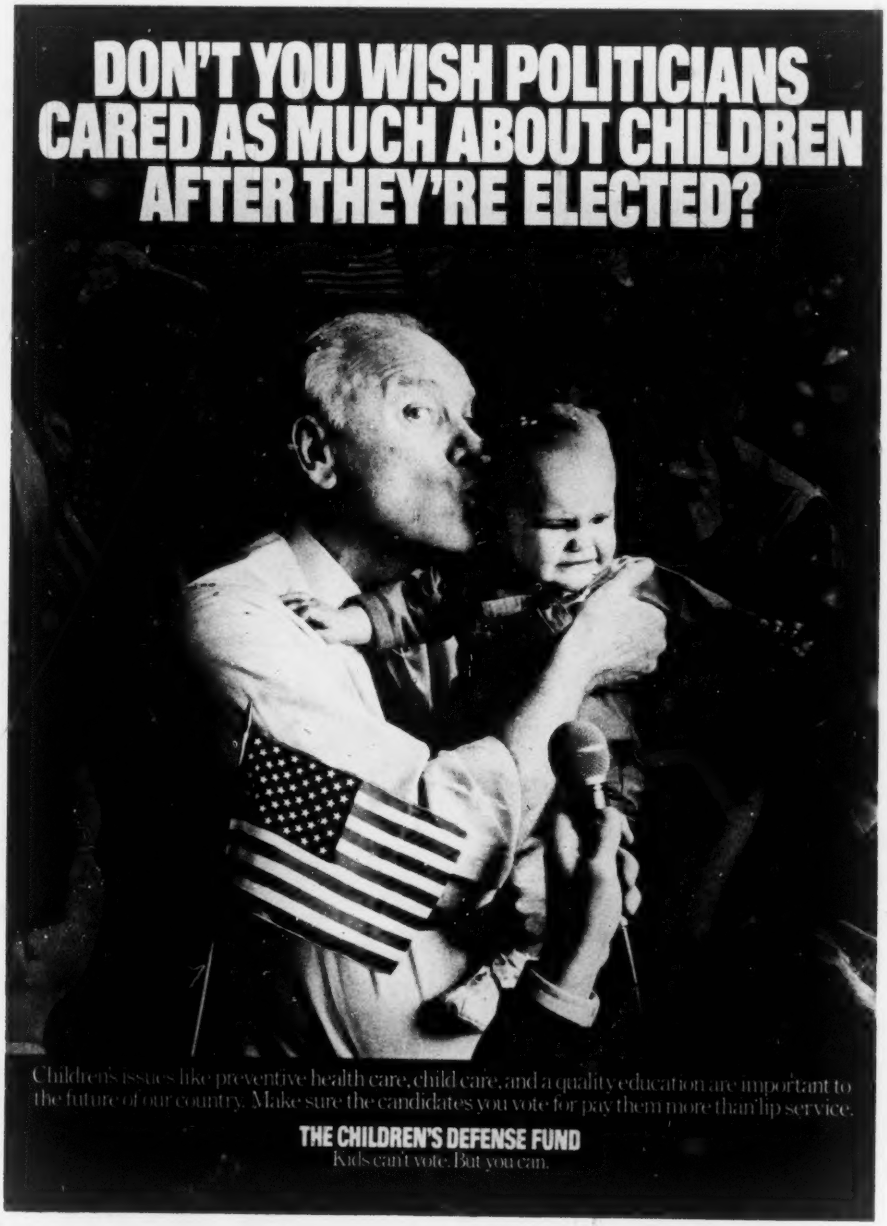
Step one is resisting despair and cynicism, and recognizing that each of us can and must make a difference. Each American needs to dig deep inside and commit to a greater personal tithing of time, energy, and resources to helping the needy young and old and to redirecting immoral national priorities. The nation should commit itself to an inviolate tithing formula for the young and needy regardless of other demands and interest groups. Children are not a special interest group but are our collective responsibility and our future regardless of race, income, ideology, or political party.

> **One of the greatest evils of the day among those outside of prison is their sense of futility. Young people say what good can one person do? What is the sense of our small effort? They cannot see that we must lay one brick at a time, take one step at a time. We can be responsible only for the one action of the present moment. But we can beg for an increase of love in our hearts that will vitalize and transform all our individual actions and know that God will take them and multiply them, as Jesus multiplied the loaves and fishes.**
>
> **Dorothy Day**

While I, like all Americans, support a strong defense and carefully defined national security goals and economic incentives to maintain a strong economy, we must demand that military expenditures and corporate tax breaks meet the same test of need and effectiveness as social expenditures and that our priorities reflect a better balance between internal and external security needs and between the haves and have-nots in our society.

Step two is setting goals and not losing sight of them. We must keep our eyes on the child and not allow ourselves to be tossed around by ever-shifting political and economic winds, or deterred by the endless stream of excuses issued to justify continuing child and family neglect.

Our positive aspirations and values as a people, concern for the young, and common sense about future productivity and competitiveness—not our fears about the Soviets, about the deficit, or about the Japanese—must drive our personal actions, our national politics, and our policies as we prepare for the twenty-first century. "It is the set of the sails and not the gales which



DON'T YOU WISH POLITICIANS CARED AS MUCH ABOUT CHILDREN AFTER THEY'RE ELECTED?

Children's issues like preventive health care, child care, and a quality education are important to the future of our country. Make sure the candidates you vote for pay them more than lip service.

THE CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND
Kids can't vote. But you can.

determine the way we go," a little bookmark of the nuns at All Saints Convent in Maryland reminds us.

Step three is informing ourselves and others about the needs of children and families and what can be done. Convenient ignorance is a more deadly threat to the future of America than AIDS. It absolves us of our responsibility to act and feeds a continuing politics of illusion and cheap redemption. Throughout this decade we have been told that hungry children and homeless families were a figment of liberal imagination; that enough jobs and child care were available for those who would merely seek them; that cuts in already inadequate safety net programs would improve and not undermine services to the poor; that greater government help to the rich fosters self-sufficiency while greater government help to the poor fosters dependency; that the MX is a peacemaker and that the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) supports more "welfare queens" than the Pentagon; that government does nothing right and the private sector does nothing wrong; that all social programs were the cause of the deficit; that the piper can be paid without sacrifice; and that what we have sown we will not reap.

This election year marks a time of national reckoning. It also marks the beginning of a massive and continuing effort by CDF to raise public and policymakers' consciousness about the facts and needed remedies to the problems of children and families, and about how all of us can make a positive difference in the lives of children. But we cannot do it without your help. You have to be voices, votes, hands, legs, and emissaries of compassion and common sense for children throughout the land. We hope you will read, use, and help disseminate our new citizen questionnaire, *What Every American Should Be Asking Political Leaders in 1988* about children and the future, about leadership, vision, and national values and priorities, and our *Briefing Book on the Status of American Children in 1988.* The latter contains essential national and state-by-state data and international comparisons on important child and family indicators. We also would appreciate your help in putting up the "Kids Can't Vote. But You Can" poster in as many visible places in your community as possible to remind us all to hold our political leaders accountable before and after they are elected.

Step four is focusing on the one or two things you can accomplish for children within your means and talents. It is also important to form linkages

> **Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are varieties of service, but the same Lord; and there are varieties of working, but it is the same God who inspires them all in every one. To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good. To one is given through the Spirit the utterance of wisdom, and to another the utterance of knowledge according to the same Spirit, to another faith by the same Spirit, to another gifts of healing by the one Spirit, to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another the ability to distinguish between spirits, to another various kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues.**
>
> **All these are inspired by one and the same Spirit, who apportions to each one individually as he wills. For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and all were made to drink of one Spirit.**
>
> **I Corinthians 12:4-13**

A Basic Social Literacy Test for Every Candidate for Public Office

When *Washington Post* columnist David Broder recently asked Vice President Bush on NBC's "Meet the Press" how many Americans lacked health insurance, how many who were unemployed had unemployment compensation, and how many children are poor, the vice president could not answer any of these questions accurately. How many people in public life can?

Every candidate for president and other public office should be able to pass a basic social and economic literacy test if they are going to represent all of the people well and take adequate steps to protect children.

- How many Americans are poor? (Answer: 32 million.) How many children are poor? (Answer: 13 million.) Who makes up the poorest age group in America? (Answer: children.)
- Are the majority of the poor white or black? (Answer: white.) Are the majority of the poor working or on welfare? (Answer: working.) What is the average welfare payment in America today? (Answer: $4.00 per person per day.) Are welfare payments indexed for inflation? (Answer: no.)
- How many Americans are unemployed? (Answer: 7 million.) What percentage of them receive unemployment insurance? (Answer: 28.6 percent in November 1987).
- What percentage of twenty- to twenty-four-year-old Americans are working below the equivalent of the 1979 minimum wage? (Answer: 37 percent.)
- Does a minimum wage job lift a family above the federal poverty line? (Answer: no. For a family of three, a minimum wage job equals 71 percent of the poverty line; for a family of four, 56 percent.)
- How many Americans lack health insurance? (Answer: 35 million.)
- What percentage of preschool children have mothers in the labor force? (Answer: half.)
- Where does America rank among twenty industrialized nations on infant mortality rates? (Answer: last.)
- How many American teens gave birth in 1985? (Answer: about 500,000.) Were the majority black or white? (Answer: white.)
- Which group of families are most likely to be poor? Young families (ages eighteen to twenty-four)? Those over sixty-five? Those forty to fifty? (Answer: young families.)
- What is the average cost of buying a new house? (Answer: $84,300 in 1985.) Ten years earlier? (Answer: $39,300 in 1975.)
- What was the median income of all American families in 1986? (Answer: $29,458.) Of white families? (Answer: $30,809.) Of black families? (Answer: $17,604.) Of Hispanic families? (Answer: $19,995.)

Citizen Action Steps for Children in 1988

1. **Write House Speaker Jim Wright, Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, and your U.S. representative and senators and tell them to support preventive investments in children.**
2. **Attend or help organize a candidates' forum and ask prospective officials what they are proposing to improve prenatal care, day care, and schools in your community.**
3. **Follow up the forum after the election to help elected officials implement their campaign pledges for children.**
4. **Register to vote and help at least two friends register to vote.**
5. **Volunteer to register new voters or work on a campaign to pass a children's issue such as a school levy.**
6. **Get personally involved with one young person as a tutor or in an organization that serves children.**
7. **Write letters supporting children's issues to your state senator and state representative.**
8. **Conduct an educational program for your club, religious organization, or organizational membership about programs serving low-income youngsters and families.**
9. **Visit a successful children's program in your community (such as a day care or Head Start program, health clinic, or school) to be able to talk knowledgeably about services for children.**

with others who share your overall goals for and concerns for children and who have additional or different talents and utilize different means. Do not think you have to do big things to help children. "Do not shun humble work," Mother Teresa reminds us, "for there are many people who can do big things. But there are very few people who will do the small things." And do not be discouraged if you do not see big changes as soon as you would like. I read a long time ago that the faith to move mountains comes from moving little hills, and that has helped me a lot when I feel overwhelmed or discouraged. But by counseling that you start small I am not counseling that you aim low. As you grow in confidence and effectiveness, so should your efforts.

Step five is rejecting rhetorical, cosmetic, and inadequate political solutions to complex social problems. Children cannot eat promises or be sheltered by rhetoric or commissions. Their needs will be met only by a significant investment of leadership and money by many to strengthen existing programs that work; a willingness to test a variety of new approaches and to take risks; collaborative efforts between national, state, and local government, the private sector, and parents; and sustained energy, patience, and love.

While we are pleased that a number of governors, mayors, legislators, and candidates are calling for greater attention to children and youths, we are not pleased that so few have committed to concrete and adequate preventive investments to actually assure the health and child care, education, and jobs that children and their families need. We must remind them what Dietrich Bonhoeffer and other moral leaders taught: there is no cheap grace. We must make clear that we expect from them the hard choices and courageous leadership that are needed to get our nation on the right track again.

We must remember, too, that it is not enough to criticize and tear down. We must be positive. And we must speak out against the hypocrisy of those on the far right who, Rep. Barney Frank of Massachusetts has said, act as if the right to life ends at birth and who tear down without offering positive solutions to the suffering of children after they are born. Pay attention to the outcome of policies you espouse and not just to process. And listen to the changing needs of children and families and look for open political moments to seize and further the children's cause.

Step six is taking pride and care in our work on behalf of children. If you are a provider of services to children, do not try just to get by or perform competently. Stretch and make an extra effort. If you are an advocate, do your homework well and struggle to broaden the base for change for children. Be open to new ideas and people and constantly seek to find the common ground that unites rather than divides without compromising your goal or principles or forgetting that children are the bottom line.

Step seven is keeping our egos in check and organizational and leadership roles in perspective. Dom Helder Camara, the great Archbishop Emeritus of Olinda and Recife in Brazil, calls egoism "the number one problem that is crushing humankind." All of us are called to serve and not just to lead and succeed; to enable and empower others and not just ourselves. We and our organizations are the means, and children and families, especially those who are needy, are the ends. We must take care that our own jockeying for recognition and control does not do the very harm to the children's cause we accuse others of doing. Nor must we use children's needs as the battleground for other agendas. Equally important, we must fight burnout. Many of us have been working faithfully, long, and hard. Now is the time to hang on rather than be lulled into easing up or assuming that a post-Reagan Administration will meet children's needs without our continuing efforts. To keep going, we must view our efforts as a labor of love rather than a burden and not be paralyzed by failure if we do not see immediate results. Dorothy Day, co-founder of *The Catholic Worker*, asked: "And why see results? Our work is to sow. Another generation will be reaping the harvest." God does not always pay wages on Saturday, someone else has said. But He does pay. As the interest in children's issues grows, we must hunker down and persist until the nation's indifference yields and until specific positive results are achieved.

Step eight is voting, encouraging others to register and vote, and knowing how our elected officials have voted on issues important to children and poor families so you can lobby them to do better. More of us must become strong and persistent pests for targeted preventive investment in children in the Congress, in our states, counties, cities, and towns. Children are totally dependent on adult caring and help. They don't vote, lobby, make campaign contributions, or write editorials. Without the organized voice of child advocates and caring adults outside the political process and thoughtful leaders within the political process, children's needs will be neglected and trampled upon to their and the nation's loss.

Each year CDF publishes a nonpartisan rating of key votes affecting poor children, youths, and families cast by your representatives and senators. We hope you will pay attention to how your congressional delegation is treating children. If they are among the senators and representatives who scored 90 or more, thank them for providing a strong voice for children and urge them to continue. They reflect the growing breadth of support for children and families throughout our country. Our goal must be to increase the number of those with a rating of 90 or more to at least 51 percent of both houses of Congress.

If your delegation includes senators and House members who scored below 50, you need to go to work to sensitize them to the concerns of children and families and let them know that there is a constituency that cares. Regular visits with members at home or in Washington, D.C., frequent letters (in care of the U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510 or the U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515), and timely telephone calls to home offices or to Washington (202/224-3121) are all critically important.

Similarly, making children, families, and the poor a major part of the 1988 presidential debate and the focus of other elections will require your active involvement to make preventive investment a part of the political currency in

Children Are Good Politics

Throughout 1986 and 1987, polls have demonstrated growing public concern about the plight of America's children and the need to make greater public investment in children.

- **Seventy-four percent think the problems of children have grown worse since they were growing up (Louis Harris for Group W, 1986).**
- **Older Americans even more than the young themselves are concerned about the future for youths (Daniel Yankelovich Group for the American Association of Retired Persons, AARP, 1987).**
- **Nine in ten of those polled worry about drugs, alcohol, and teen pregnancy, and eight in ten worry about their child dropping out of school (Louis Harris for the Philip Morris Family Survey, 1987).**

These concerns translate into concern about the course of government and support for greater efforts to help children.

- **Eighty percent believe government is not doing enough for poor children (Yankelovich for AARP).**
- **Sixty-one percent disapprove of federal cutbacks in social spending since 1981, and six in ten said they could support increased social spending even if it meant a tax increase. Seventy-seven percent thought that the federal government should play a more active role in the areas of health, poverty, housing, and education. More than one in two supported increased government spending on nutrition programs for women and infants (Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for *Time*, 1987).**
- **Substantial majorities support spending more money on a wide range of children's programs, especially job training for teens (72 percent), medical care for poor children (66 percent), and prenatal care for poor women (56 percent). Those polled are willing to increase their taxes to increase funding for public schools (76 percent) and for day care programs (73 percent) (Harris for Group W).**
- **Seventy-two percent of voters favor greater emphasis on preschool education and 87 percent favor measures to prevent teenage pregnancies (Peter Hart Research Associates for KIDSPAC).**

the future. No national, state, or local candidate should go through any primary or general election without having to explain his or her specific policies designed to strengthen children and families and his or her vision for lifting the weak as well as cultivating the strong. We know what many of them have done in the past. Now the question is how they will do in the future. Each and all of them must hear from child advocates early and often. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said it plainly: "The mode by which the inevitable happens is effort." If we want the nation to place children first, it will take enormous effort.

Step nine is anticipating and identifying the key barriers to winning for children, developing strategies to go around and over them, and, when necessary, to knock them down. Some of the barriers to winning for children are within our control. Others are not. The budget deficit will be the most frequently heard political excuse for neglecting children. Our response is fivefold: (1) Children did not cause the deficit and hurting them more will not cure it; (2) children and their families have sacrificed proportionately more than any other group, $10 billion per year, in a deficit reduction war in which neither the Pentagon, the rich, nor corporate America were enlisted; (3) investing in children now saves money later—to fail to prevent sickness, malnutrition, and early childhood deprivation is to perpetuate the very dependency cycle and high remediation costs so many currently decry; (4) investing in children is feasible and increases our chances of success before problems get serious; we know how to do it and how to achieve positive results for relatively modest investment; (5) children are dying unnecessarily right now from poverty—one every fifty-three minutes in America, one every two seconds in the world. How can we dare not save them if we believe God exists?

Who Are the Poor?

In 1986 there were 32.4 million poor persons in the United States:

22.2 million were white
9.0 million were black
5.1 million were Hispanic of any race

12.3 million were related children younger than eighteen:

7.7 million were white
4.0 million were black
2.4 million were Hispanic of any race

431,000 were children younger than eighteen unrelated to the household head:

334,000 were white
84,000 were black
53,000 were Hispanic of any race

5.5 million were heads of poor households containing children:

3.6 million were white
1.7 million were black
948,000 were Hispanic of any race

Among the 5.5 million heads of poor households with children, 188,000 were themelves children younger than eighteen.

A Prayer/Pledge of Responsibility for Children

We pray [accept responsibility] for children
who put chocolate fingers everywhere,
who like to be tickled,
who stomp in puddles and ruin their new pants,
who sneak popsicles before supper,
who erase holes in math workbooks,
who can never find their shoes.
And we pray [accept responsibility] for those
who stare at photographers from behind barbed wire,
who can't bound down the street in a new pair of sneakers,
who never "counted potatoes,"
who are born in places we wouldn't be caught dead,
who never go to the circus,
who live in an X-rated world.
We pray [accept responsibility] for children
who bring us sticky kisses and fistfuls of dandelions,
who sleep with the dog and bury goldfish,
who hug us in a hurry and forget their lunch money,
who cover themselves with Band-aids and sing off key,
who squeeze toothpaste all over the sink,
who slurp their soup.
And we pray [accept responsibility] for those
who never get dessert,
who have no safe blanket to drag behind them,
who watch their parents watch them die,
who can't find any bread to steal,
who don't have any rooms to clean up,
whose pictures aren't on anybody's dresser,
whose monsters are real.
We pray [accept responsibility] for children
who spend all their allowance before Tuesday,
who throw tantrums in the grocery store and pick at their food,
who like ghost stories,
who shove dirty clothes under the bed, and never rinse out the tub,
who get visits from the tooth fairy,
who don't like to be kissed in front of the carpool,
who squirm in church or temple and scream in the phone,
whose tears we sometimes laugh at and whose smiles can make us cry.
And we pray [accept responsibility] for those
whose nightmares come in the daytime,
who will eat anything,
who have never seen a dentist,
who aren't spoiled by anybody,
who go to bed hungry and cry themselves to sleep,
who live and move, but have no being.
We pray [accept responsibility] for children who want to be carried and
for those who must,
for those we never give up on and for those
who don't get a second chance.
For those we smother ... and for those who will grab the hand of
anybody kind enough to offer it.

Ina J. Hughs

*"Accept responsibility" is CDF's addition.

Careless rhetoric and analysis and single solutions that misstate the problems of the poor and needed remedies are a second barrier we should try to avoid. Too often the poor are lumped together in an "underclass," which leads too many to blame the victim, conclude that nothing can be done, or seek uniform answers rather than a range of specific remedies that various groups of the poor may need at a particular time. It is important to lay out the full continuum of remedies needed to prevent and alleviate poverty while telling people where to start.

A last barrier I would mention is the widespread belief that nothing works. We must say loudly, clearly, and repeatedly, and as often as possible, that some things do work. Careful public investments do yield positive results. But we have to stick with them, implement them well, and bolster them with caring community support systems and with trained personnel. A policy is as good as the person administering it and how much they care about making it work. Therefore, we must look ahead and prepare local institutions and staffs for sound implementation of the policies we seek to enact and expand this year and over the next decade.

Step ten is being prayerful that we and those in power will be guided by justice and compassion. We have squandered our God-given opportunity to provide the world an example of decency and fairness at home and abroad and thus give proof of what humanity at its best can achieve. The year 1988 is a time for leaders and citizens who can combine positive vision with realistic individual and community actions to build new paths toward a nation and world fit to be the children's playground in the City of God. But that will take the great inner strength which comes only from inner silence, meditation, and faith. We will need inner strength more than ever in the 1990s as we face a discouraging deficit and political leaders too readily intimidated by special interest bullies. But we must not stop working hard. We must not let our political leaders off the hook. We must not let the media and politicians tell us what we believe and what children need. You who have been doing the work and caring over such long years must remain confident and strong about your mission's importance.

I share G. Campbell Morgan's belief, articulated eighty years ago:

> "God's purpose for the child and God's ideal for the child build the conditions of public life . . . . Everything in the life of the coming city will depend upon the little child. Everything will be carried forward in the interests of the little child. Among other things, the streets will be fit for children to play in . . . . When you have a city with streets fit for children you have a city with streets fit for adults. If the child is safe everyone is safe."

Marian Wright Edelman
President

CHILDREN'S STAKE IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET PROCESS

A portrait of our nation's values, the federal budget reflects the relative priority we place on alternative and often competing interests and needs. The importance America places on children—their health and well-being, education and training, care and support—is determined by the decisions made in the development of the federal budget.

Through an increasingly long and acrimonious process, the President and Congress each year craft and implement a budget for the federal government. Children have a vital stake in this process, for in it our elected representatives weigh their needs along with those of the military, the civil service, the elderly and retirees, business, agriculture, and others. Our representatives also take into consideration the views and opinions of leaders and voters in states and communities across the nation, along with those of the taxpayers who ultimately must pay the nation's bills. The federal budget finally adopted determines the level of the nation's commitment to children and the extent of its efforts to prevent infant mortality, school dropouts, teen pregnancy, and welfare dependency.

The federal budgets of the 1980s placed little value on America's children and sacrificed their future and the nation's future, creating both budget deficits and human deficits of crisis proportions. Congress now must exert the leadership and courage to chart a new budgetary course that includes the comprehensive investments in children that are being demanded by a growing number of parents, educators, business and economic leaders, and citizens. Congress must spearhead efforts to help the next generation in order to assure our future productivity and prosperity.

Federal Budgets of the 1980s: Mortgaging the Future

The federal budget, like a family budget, is composed of income and expenses. The federal government's "income" is derived primarily from taxes, and its "expenses" are the costs of diverse programs, activities, and responsibilities of national government. When federal income and expenses are equal, the budget is balanced. When federal expenses exceed federal income, the result is a budget deficit.

The federal budgets of the 1980s were characterized by:

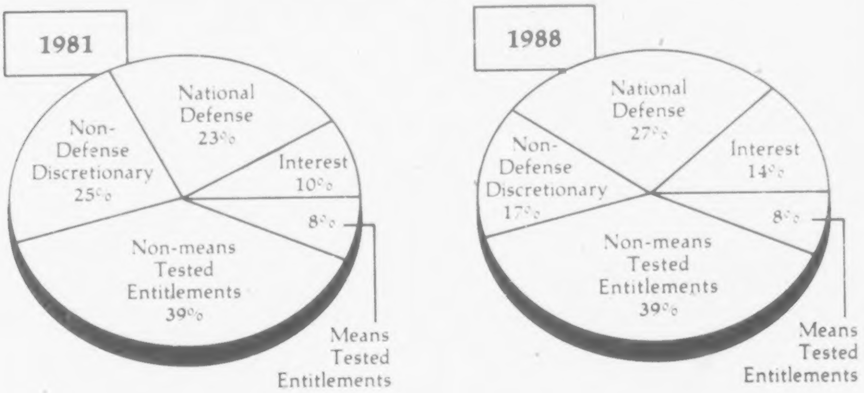
- An immense overall increase in military spending.
- A major shift in budget priorities with a dramatic increase in the proportion of the federal budget going to the military and a dramatic decrease in the proportion for children, families, and the poor.
- An insufficient amount of federal revenue; and
- Budget deficits of enormous and dangerous proportions.

These budgets mortgaged the future of all Americans, but none will bear so heavy a burden as our children. Ironically, our nation has left this legacy of deficit and debt to the same generation of children that has simultaneously been neglected by the shortsighted budget policies of the 1980s.

Budget "Winners" in the 1980s

Defense spending has skyrocketed under the Reagan Administration, significantly increasing the proportion of the federal budget devoted to military hardware and weapons systems. After allowing defense spending to increase by more than $95 billion in just four years (FY 1981 to FY 1985) and witnessing the waste and abuse that accompanied such excess, Congress finally acted first to slow and then to halt the growth in military spending. Nevertheless, defense spending maintains its place as the second largest component of the federal budget (after non-means-tested entitlements including Social Security), consuming more than 27 percent of all federal spending. Our subsidy of the military towers over our modest investment in children.

The Division of the Federal Budget Pie, FY 1981 and FY 1988



*The numbers shown for each year add up to 105 percent because of offsetting receipts that total 5 percent.

Source: Congressional Budget Office

- Federal spending for early research alone for the unproven Star Wars (Strategic Defense Initiative) venture is more than three times greater than our spending for the proven Head Start preschool program.
- More federal spending supports military musical bands than grants for the immunization of our children.

The other spending growth in the 1980s occurred in the area of benefits to individuals or corporations "entitled" to them under the law regardless of their income. Such non-means-tested entitlements are the largest component of the federal budget, and include Social Security, Medicare, and civilian and military retirement programs, as well as agricultural subsidies, veterans' health care, and unemployment compensation. Currently, more than $200 billion is spent for the Social Security program and more than $40 billion is spent for federal civilian and military retirement benefits.

The amount of spending for non-means-tested entitlements rose dramatically during this period for two reasons. First, such benefits are provided automatically each year to all current and newly eligible recipients unless Congress and the President specifically take action to limit them, and a growing number of elderly and retired persons became eligible. Second, automatic cost-of-living adjustments (or COLAs) are built into most of the non-means-tested entitlement programs. For example:

- COLAs for non-means-tested entitlement programs will increase federal spending by more than $7 billion in FY 1988, ten times the increase in federal spending for education.
- Federal spending for farm price supports in FY 1988 will be about $18 billion, more than four times federal spending for child nutrition.

Budget Losers in the 1980s

Federal spending for means-tested entitlement programs directed to recipients with limited means or income below specified amounts, always a small portion of the federal budget, barely held even from FY 1981 to FY 1988 despite a more than 10 percent growth in the number of persons living in poverty during that period. Both in 1981 and 1988 only 8 percent of federal spending was devoted to entitlement programs for the poor, including Medicaid, food stamps, child nutrition, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Currently:

- AFDC, the major welfare program, and child support enforcement efforts together consume only 1 percent of federal spending.
- Child nutrition and food stamps programs consume less than 2 percent of federal spending.

The biggest loser in the 1980s was federal spending for all the remaining programs and services of the federal government, the budget category referred to as non-defense discretionary spending. Through these programs the nation invests in its future, funding efforts to educate and train our children and youths, to immunize infants, to prevent child abuse, to protect our environment, and to maintain and enhance our highways, bridges, air, and water. Yet funding for non-defense discretionary programs has been slashed from 25 percent of federal spending in FY 1981 to 17 percent in FY 1988.

Among discretionary programs, those serving children and the poor have been hardest hit by the budget policies of the 1980s. In 1981 and 1982 massive cuts, ranging up to 25 percent and more, were made in virtually all discretionary children's programs, including education and job training, child abuse, maternal and child health, child care, and nutrition. Many of these programs were the target of deficit reduction efforts in 1986 and 1987 as well. Overall, spending for discretionary programs for low-income Americans was cut by more than 50 percent between FY 1981 and FY 1987 after adjusting for inflation, according to the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities.

- Federal spending for Chapter 1, the highly effective compensatory education program, was cut more than 10 percent (adjusted for inflation) during this period.
- Federal support for low-income housing was cut by nearly 80 percent after inflation.

America's children and, ultimately, our economy and our future are the biggest losers from the budget policies of the 1980s. Not only has our nation neglected to prepare the children of the 1980s to be the productive work force of the twenty-first century, but the budget policies of this decade have saddled them with a monumental national debt and budget deficits of dangerous and historical proportions.

Like a family that spends more than it makes, the federal government's spending spree for the military combined with drastic reductions in federal revenues has forced the nation to borrow more and more funds to pay its current bills. Since 1981 the federal government has borrowed more than $1.2 trillion, tripling the national debt and rapidly transforming the United States from a creditor to a debtor nation. Interest payments alone are estimated to exceed $150 billion in the current fiscal year, up more than $80 billion since 1981 and consuming 14 percent of the federal budget.

- The national debt is equivalent to a debt of about $30,000 for every American family.
- The annual interest on the national debt equals approximately $2,400 for each American child.

In recent years, Congress has made modest, halting attempts to reverse the disastrous budget policies of the Reagan era. Congressional budgets developed in 1986 and 1987 placed priority on increased investment in America's children and sharply limited the growth in military spending. But congressional attempts to reduce the budget deficit failed to tackle the hardest issues or resolve the budgetary and human deficits facing the nation.

Ill-Conceived Deficit Reduction Plans

In 1985 Congress enacted a poorly conceived attempt to deal with the budget deficit problem: the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act (PL 99-177). The new law mandated that the federal government achieve a balanced budget through substantial and specific annual reductions in the federal deficit over the next several years. The law imposed severe procedures to do this, notably the automatic across-the-board spending cuts to be made in most federal programs unless Congress and the President could agree on and enact alternatives to meet the tough deficit reduction targets. Failure to enact an alternative in 1986 resulted in the first round of automatic across-the-board cuts in most federal programs, further reducing investments in children and youths. Congress revised the law in 1987, creating another automatic across-the-board mechanism to replace the one ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court the year before, and adjusted the deficit targets as follows:

YEAR	DEFICIT TARGET
FY 1989	$136 billion
FY 1990	$100 billion
FY 1991	$ 64 billion
FY 1992	$ 28 billion
FY 1993	$ 0

In 1987 the stock market crash, together with a threatened second round of Gramm-Rudman cuts, prompted deficit reduction negotiations between Congress and the Reagan Administration. This "Budget Summit" produced a two-year deficit reduction agreement that met the FY 1988 Gramm-Rudman target and precluded another round of across-the-board cuts, but the costs were great: investments in children were reduced by the summit's requirement that total non-defense discretionary spending be cut. The summit also required small tax and revenue increases, and modest reductions in defense spending and Medicare. Future investments in children also will be restricted by the severe limits the summit placed on domestic discretionary spending for the upcoming fiscal year.

Federal Budgets for the 1990s: Investments in the Future

Our nation's strength, social fabric, and international competitiveness depend on Congress' budget decisions for FY 1989 and the 1990s. Congress must address both the budget deficit and the human development deficit that have resulted from unwise and shortsighted budget policies. The American public must join with business leaders and economic leaders in urging our elected leaders to make the hard choices necessary to bring the budget policies under control.

Effective reduction of our budget deficits cannot be accomplished without addressing seriously the military and non-means-tested entitlement spending that together consume more than 65 percent of the federal budget. Congress and the President must also face the reality that federal taxes are insufficient to support current federal spending. While the options are limited and the decisions are difficult, courage and leadership are required to put our economic house in order.

Similarly, effective reduction of our human development deficit cannot be accomplished without substantial new investments in the new generations of young Americans plagued by high child poverty rates and all of the corollary problems—high infant mortality rates, teenage pregnancy, school dropouts, high rates of abuse and neglect, and joblessness. A national investment plan is essential if America's children are to acquire the education, skills, health, and character our nation will need from them if we are to maintain our leadership role in the twenty-first century.

The Children's Defense Fund has proposed a series of sound investments in our nation's children and youths to be incorporated into the federal budget in FY 1989 and beyond (see Legislative Agenda chapter). CDF's proposals target investments in proven, effective efforts for children that produce social and financial benefits to society many times their cost. Proposed investments include: early childhood development, education, and training that improve the basic skills and preparation of today's children and youths and tomorrow's work force; child care that can ensure the well-being of our children and improve the productivity of their working parents; and health care that prevents long-term disabilities and deaths. In an era of limits, these investments are targeted on initiatives that are cost-effective.

Numerous polls have shown that support for investments in our children and our future has been growing. But this support will mean little unless translated into substantial new investment efforts in our federal budgets for FY 1989 and beyond.

It is essential that every citizen who cares about children make his or her voice heard in the federal budget process. While the process is long and complicated, the basic steps are outlined in the Budget Process box.

Budget Process At A Glance

Step One: The President and his Administration develop a detailed proposed budget for the upcoming fiscal year. The President formally presents this proposal to Congress in January or February.

Step Two: Congress begins a lengthy process of its own. After weighing the priorities of the President and those of 100 senators and 435 members of the House of Representatives, a final Congressional Budget Resolution supported by the majority of both houses determines the broad outlines of federal spending and income policies for the fiscal year.

Step Three: Congress then embarks upon the implementation of its budget policies. Appropriations legislation must be developed and approved by the President, translating the budget's spending limits and priorities into specific funding levels for thousands of federal programs and services, such as Head Start and childhood immunization. Reconciliation legislation also must be developed and approved by the President to translate the budget principles into the necessary changes in tax laws and entitlement programs.

At every step in the process our leaders must hear strong support for investments in children and our nation's future. While at various stages one or another particular group of leaders, such as the members of the House and Senate Budget Committees (listed in Appendix B) are especially important, ultimately every national official—the President and each senator and representative—is involved. Communication from constituents—letters, visits, and phone calls—can have a powerful effect on reshaping the priorities reflected in our federal budget.

CDF'S LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FOR THE 100TH CONGRESS

Investments in our Children, Investments in our Future

A strengthened national commitment to America's children has the overwhelming support of the American public and business, education, and economic leaders. Reflecting the growing consensus of concern about America's children, CDF's Legislative Agenda proposes a series of cost-effective investments designed to ensure that every child in our nation can grow into a strong, healthy, productive, and self-sufficient adult. CDF urges all members of Congress to join in a bipartisan effort to enact these critically needed investments in the second session of the 100th Congress.

Investments in our nation's children—their care, health, development, education, and training—are investments in America's future. The children of the 1990s will become the work force of the twenty-first century—with a shrinking proportion of young workers whom we will expect to maintain the nation's standard of living and shoulder its enormous debt, while supporting a growing aging and retired population at home and meeting the increasing challenge of economic competition abroad.

No nation can remain secure nor continue to prosper and lead the world when its children are the poorest segment of its population, and its government deprives them of the necessities of survival and growth and neglects their preparation and potential. The U.S. infant mortality rate is among the worst of all industrialized nations, and the basic academic skills of nearly a third of all potential recruits for the armed forces fall below acceptable standards for enlistment. In its report, *Children In Need: Investment Strategies for the Educationally Disadvantaged*, the business-led Committee for Economic Development reports that fewer than 50 percent of high school seniors read at levels considered adequate for even moderately complex tasks, and warns: "If we continue to squander the talents of millions of our children, America will become a nation of limited human potential."

Further neglect of America's children only will add to the complex fiscal and economic difficulties already facing the nation and weaken our nation's eroding international leadership. Failure to meet our children's needs drains the nation's treasury. The students who drop out of high school in one year will cost the nation more than $228 billion in lost lifetime earnings and taxes, according to a recent study. "It is hard to imagine any long term economic renaissance—especially one built on working smarter—without a determined investment in the most precious of our assets—the skills, intellect, work habits, health and character of our children," writes former Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson.

CDF's Legislative Agenda for the 100th Congress is built on "working smarter" and presents a strategy of well-planned, mutually reinforcing investments in America's children. It places first priority on preventing sickness and death, academic failure and dropping out, unemployment, and reliance on public assistance. Because public resources are limited, the Legislative Agenda targets investments in preventive programs of proven success that provide valuable additional returns on the scarce dollars invested.

- To prevent infant mortality, we urge increased investments in comprehensive prenatal care, which has been proven to return $3.38 in lower health care costs for every $1.00 invested.
- To prevent school failure and dependency, we urge a substantial new investment in Head Start, which has been shown to return $4.75 for every $1.00 invested in such early childhood development programs.
- To prevent youth unemployment, we urge additional investments in the Jobs Corps, which has been demonstrated to return $1.45 for every $1.00 invested.

Ultimately, it is responsible investments in America's children that will produce the economic growth and prosperity that benefits all Americans. CDF's Legislative Agenda presents these responsible investments to Congress and our national leaders and urges their full endorsement and speedy implementation.

Early Childhood Development and Child Care

In their earliest years, all children must be ensured the care, safety, and support demonstrated to be essential to their later successful development. While the family role is critical, public support is increasingly required because more than one-half of all mothers with preschool children are now in the labor force and more than two-thirds are expected to be working by the mid-1990s. Child care costs average $3,000 a year, an amount equal to more than 20 percent of the median income of female householders and greater than 10 percent of the median income of all working families in 1986.

Comprehensive early childhood development programs have demonstrated extraordinary returns for young children and society, and quality child care reaps benefits many times over for children, parents, and employers. Yet national policies have restricted the number of slots in Head Start, our most effective federal early childhood development program, to less than 20 percent of the number of disadvantaged preschoolers requiring it. The United States is one of the few industrialized countries without a comprehensive child care policy. Congressional leadership must be directed to the needs of young children, and must include the following investments in their lives.

The Act for Better Child Care Services (ABC) would assist states to increase the availability of quality child care services and help low-income working families meet their child care expenses. The immediate authorization of ABC (H.R. 3660, S. 1885), and the investment of $2.5 billion in this joint federal-state effort is necessary to:

- Assist working families earning up to 115 percent of the state median income (adjusted for family size) in meeting child care expenses, with the amount of assistance depending on the level of family income.

- Assist states in increasing the availability of quality child care providers and facilities through grants and low-interest loans, recruitment and training efforts, resource and referral programs, and coordination with existing Head Start, Chapter 1, and early childhood development programs.
- Improve the quality of child care through minimum standards for parental involvement, basic health, safety, supervision, and training.

Head Start provides critical developmental, educational, and health services to disadvantaged preschoolers and their parents, improving their long-term school and employment prospects. A five-year investment plan to boost participation in this most effective preschool program to serve half of all eligible children by 1993 requires an additional investment of $400 million each year.

The Social Services Block Grant (Title XX) helps states fund a range of critical services for children and families, including day care services that allow low-income parents with young children to work. As the need for child care, child abuse prevention, and other services for children increases, Title XX assistance to states must be increased by raising the authorization level to $3.3 billion.

Comprehensive child development centers would provide early and comprehensive services to disadvantaged mothers, infants, and toddlers. The immediate authorization of these centers and the investment of $25 million for demonstration projects will improve the opportunities for success for participating families and reduce the likelihood of school dropout, teenage pregnancy, and adult dependency.

Youth Training and Employment

America's youths must develop the skills and training necessary for productive employment in the nation's rapidly changing job market. The national labor pool is shrinking and the estimated shortage of educated and qualified workers may reach as high as 20 million by 1990, while millions of American youths are unprepared, unskilled, and unemployed.

Federal training efforts have been successful in preparing disadvantaged youths for productive employment. Yet even the most effective federal program—the Job Corps—has funds to train only 3 percent of unemployed teens, and many promising state and local efforts stagnate for lack of federal support. The following investments in the skills and talents of America's youths not only will reduce the social and economic costs of unemployment, but most importantly will increase the pool of educated and qualified members of our work force.

Job Corps provides disadvantaged youths the basic education, vocational training, and support that have been shown by research to increase school completion, employment, and earnings. An increased federal investment of $200 million is necessary to train an additional 20,000 disadvantaged youths for productive work.

The Summer Youth Employment Program offers disadvantaged youths important work experience during the summer months, but the program's benefits should be enhanced by supplementing work experience with remedial education for all participants with basic skills below grade level. An additional $200 million investment would support incentive grants to communities that offer enriched summer programs.

Community learning centers provide additional learning opportunities for poor and minority teens in out-of-school settings. Community learning centers should be authorized with an initial investment of $75 million to establish new centers and capitalize state-administered revolving loan funds that would help centers acquire basic skills curricula, cost-effective microcomputers, and other educational materials of demonstrated effectiveness.

School-to-work transition provides disadvantaged youths the job search and placement assistance necessary for their successful entry into the labor market. The authorization and federal investment of $50 million is required to match state investments in effective, low-cost, school-to-work transition programs to help disadvantaged youths secure productive employment.

Work and service opportunities provide disadvantaged youths with valuable work experience and assist communities with important conservation, housing, and human service projects. The authorization and investment of $100 million is required to stimulate the expansion of current state and local efforts through large-scale testing of promising models.

Replication of model programs provides local service providers with better information and practical advice regarding successful approaches to youth employment and training. A national panel of experts should be established to review and certify promising models, and $20 million should be invested to support dissemination, technical assistance, and ongoing research.

Apprenticeship study would develop options for integrating existing apprenticeship programs and a wide range of community college and training institutions into a more comprehensive apprenticeship system. A study commission should be established to develop plans for such a system to encourage the motivation of young people and enhance the supply of trained workers for emerging industries.

Education

American children must be ensured the opportunity to gain the basic skills and education required for employment and advancement in the twenty-first century. The job markets of the future require an increasingly skilled and educated work force, yet each year nearly three-quarters of a million young people leave public school without graduating, while many others graduate with a deficiency in basic skills. College enrollment among youths from low-income families has fallen precipitously, as well.

Numerous federal education programs have been successful in improving the basic skills and educational achievement of disadvantaged youngsters, yet such programs have been restricted to a small and shrinking proportion of those in need. Despite its exemplary record for improving basic reading and mathematics skills, the Chapter 1 Compensatory Education program serves only one-half of those currently eligible for its valuable services; most of those served are elementary school pupils, while the basic skills development of secondary students is virtually ignored. The Committee for Economic Development stresses that "quality education is not an expense; it is an investment in the future of our nation" and a determined investment in the education of America's children is long overdue.

Chapter 1 provides basic compensatory reading and mathematics services for disadvantaged elementary and secondary school students and significantly improves their educational achievements and performance. The reauthorization of Chapter 1 and the initiation of a five-year investment plan are required to ensure all educationally disadvantaged students the benefits of program participation. To reach this goal by 1993, an investment of no less than $500 million over baseline funding is required each year. The following additional steps are needed.

- **The Even Start Program** combines compensatory education for disadvantaged pre-kindergarten children and adult education services for their parents. The authorization of this grant program as a component of Chapter 1 and the investment of $50 million in such families is required to ensure disadvantaged children's readiness for elementary school.
- **Secondary school basic skills improvement and dropout prevention** would address the special educational problems of disadvantaged secondary school-aged youths. Authorization of a new grant program as a component of Chapter 1 and the initial investment of $200 million is required to establish, demonstrate, and implement dropout prevention and secondary school basic skills activities.

The Family School Partnership Act would provide demonstration grants to local education agencies for the development of innovative and promising family-school educational partnership activities. The authorization of the program and the initial investment of $10 million is required to stimulate partnership activities, including supporting family efforts to work with children at home, training Chapter 1 school personnel to work effectively with families of participating students, training families and school personnel to build an educational partnership between home and school, and evaluating family involvement activities.

The Effective Schools program would improve the educational achievement of participating children through innovative programs characterized by strong school leadership, high expectations for students coupled with emphasis on basic skills development, an orderly school atmosphere, and individualized evaluation of student performance. The program should be authorized with an initial investment of $25 million.

The Bilingual Education program provides bilingual education services to limited and non-English speaking students. Despite an estimated 2.4 million to 3.6 million children ages five to thirteen in need of such services, the program currently serves fewer than 215,000 students. Approximately 160,000 additional students can be provided this essential educational service with an investment of $250 million.

Desegregation assistance helps improve and expand efforts through the Magnet Schools Assistance Act. An investment of $150 million is required to help elementary and secondary schools eliminate and prevent minority group isolation and strengthen academic and vocational skills in these schools.

Handicapped education programs assist school districts in providing an appropriate education for handicapped children. Adequate funding is required:

- To provide states with 15 percent of the average per pupil expenditure for handicapped children by appropriating $2.218 billion for state and local programs, an increase of $787 million;
- To provide preschool grants to serve an additional 26,842 handicapped three- to five-year-olds, by appropriating $259 million (an increase of $58 million), and $75 million for early intervention programs for handicapped children from birth to age two.

Pell grants provide assistance to low-income students for their college and university expenses. A FY 1989 appropriation adequate to fund Pell grants at the maximum level of $2,600 per student will ensure increased benefits for part-time and full-time students.

Family Support

No child should be denied the basic necessities for survival—food, clothing, and shelter. Yet more than 12 million American children live in poverty, and millions of them are deprived of necessities despite the fact that their parents are working. Even full-time minimum wage work now fails to lift a family of three out of poverty because the federal minimum wage has not been adjusted since 1981. When parents are unable to work or find employment, their children suffer because public help is so extremely limited. Little education or training assistance or other supports are provided to help families move out of poverty, and those persons forced to rely on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) receive average payments of $125 per month.

The federal government has an essential role in ensuring a life of decency for all American children and assisting parents to support their children. There are many immediate steps to help families move toward economic independence and self-sufficiency, including the adjustments in the federal minimum wage and the Earned Income Tax Credit outlined below. In addition, beginning steps, a number of them already part of the House-passed Family Welfare Reform Act (H.R. 1720), must be taken to improve the federal AFDC and Child Support Enforcement programs.

The minimum wage has not been raised since 1981 and no longer provides a working family with an income adequate to support its children. An immediate increase in the current federal minimum wage of $3.35 is necessary to provide a stable earnings base for young workers and their families. The minimum wage should be raised to $3.85 in 1988, with stepped increases in subsequent years to restore the minimum wage to its real 1979 value adjusted for inflation.

The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) provides tax assistance to low-income working families and helps them support their children. The assistance is provided to families without regard to family size, penalizing large families. The EITC should be adjusted for family size to increase the amount of credit for larger families.

Improving income supports for needy families: Current AFDC benefits in most states are so low they fail to provide even a minimum level of subsistence. In twenty-eight states, AFDC benefit levels in July 1987 were less than 50 percent of the poverty level. Even combined AFDC and food stamp benefits were less than 75 percent of the poverty level in more than one-half of the states. And in twenty-four states, children in two-parent unemployed families are ineligible for even these low benefits, regardless of how desperately poor they are. The following steps will begin to ensure families a more adequate level of subsistence to meet their needs:

- **Requiring states to adjust their need standards** to reflect adequately current living costs and to begin to raise benefits to meet those needs. A higher federal matching rate would be provided to states that do so, as an incentive to increase benefits, and by October 1992 all states would be required to provide combined AFDC and food stamp benefits at least equal to 75 percent of the federal poverty level, with subsequent increases to 100 percent of the poverty level.

- **Requiring states to cover aid for unemployed two-parent families and pregnant women** would provide AFDC to all children in needy families regardless of family composition or where in the country they live. Current restrictions on eligibility for two-parent families would be eased. A pregnant woman with no other children would be eligible for AFDC benefits from the time her pregnancy was medically verified.

- **Requiring states to improve child support enforcement efforts** by: adapting better procedures for establishing paternity for children born out of wedlock, applying uniform child support guidelines in determining support awards, and developing improved administrative procedures for monitoring the establishment and enforcement of child support awards.

Increasing work incentives to improve opportunities for self-sufficiency: Education, training, and employment opportunities currently available for AFDC recipients who want to make the transition from welfare to work and toward self-sufficiency are inadequate, and supportive services necessary to help them work, such as child care, often are unavailable. In addition, the AFDC benefit structure does little to encourage recipients to work. Rather, earnings reduce a family's AFDC grant virtually dollar-for-dollar after four months, and once ineligible for AFDC the family often loses its Medicaid and child care assistance as well. Opportunities for AFDC recipients to achieve self-sufficiency will be enhanced significantly by the following provisions:

- **Expanding the opportunity for states to establish comprehensive education, training, and employment programs for AFDC recipients** who choose to participate in them. The programs should include individual assessments of the participants and their families; offer participants their choice of a range of education, training, and employment opportunities; ensure that participants have the supportive services necessary to be involved in the activities; and measure performance in terms of long-term employability as well as shorter term educational and training accomplishments.
- **Expanding earned income disregards** would assist families on AFDC that are working at very low wages by applying disregards in both initial eligibility and benefit determinations and by removing time limits on the disregards. The standard deduction for child care and work expenses should be increased and indexed for inflation and should be provided prospectively rather than after a time lag. Child care assistance also should be provided directly or through vouchers for AFDC parents who are in employment-related education or training programs. The EITC should be disregarded for purposes of determining both AFDC and food stamp eligibility and benefit levels.
- **Providing transitional child care and health care on a sliding-fee basis** until such assistance becomes available through an employer or other means for families that lose AFDC eligibility due to employment.

Enhancing supports for teens: New, special strategies are needed to help teen parents who are on AFDC become less dependent on the program and move toward eventual self-sufficiency. These comprehensive strategies must first ensure that teen parents have the academic skills, the job skills, and the supportive services (including child care) they need to find stable employment. Investments in similar strategies also are necessary to prevent early parenthood among teens in AFDC families, thereby enhancing their opportunities for self-sufficiency. The following steps can be taken to benefit pregnant and parenting teens, as well as teens who are not yet pregnant.

- **Aid for students:** States should be required to continue benefits to youths in AFDC families to age twenty-one, provided they are enrolled full time in school or other education, training, or vocational programs, or are attending school part time and also working or participating in a training or vocational program. Any stipends received by the teen from his or her participation in an employment training program would be disregarded for purposes of determining AFDC eligibility and benefit levels.

- **Providing funds for establishing at least three case management pilot programs** designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of the case management model in supporting teens in AFDC families who are not pregnant or parents. The broker/counselor/advocate model of case management should be used to ensure that a comprehensive and coordinated set of health, education, employment preparation, recreation, and family planning services is provided to such teens.
- **Eliminating disincentives for teen parents to live at home:** The current requirements that a grandparent's income be deemed available to the grandchild for the purpose of AFDC eligibility and benefits, even when the grandparent is not contributing to the grandchild's support, and that all parents and most minor siblings be included in the AFDC unit should be repealed. Teen parents living at home then would be eligible for the assistance just as are those establishing separate households. This would encourage pregnant and parenting teens to live at home and eliminate current disincentives to such arrangements.
- **Providing funds for special grants to at least five states for comprehensive education, training, and employment programs for pregnant teens and young mothers with children younger than six** choosing to participate. The programs would be designed to meet the individual needs of participants and include a range of supportive services.

Troubled Children and Families

Child abuse, neglect, emotional disturbance, running away, and other special problems facing children and families can be prevented and treated, thereby protecting the well-being of vulnerable children and adolescents and preventing the long-term expenditure of scarce public resources as well. Critical services of proven effectiveness are currently available for only a fraction of the children in need, guaranteeing that the unmet needs of those not served will intensify. Increased opportunities and productive futures for troubled children, adolescents, and their families can be achieved by tripling federal investments in the following preventive services over the next five years.

Child abuse and family violence programs provide vital services to abused children and adolescents and other victims of family violence. The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act must be reauthorized and a funding level of $50 million ($25.2 million more than in FY 1988) should be approved for FY 1989. For the Family Violence Prevention and Services Program, which must also be reauthorized for FY 1989, $26 million (a $17.9 million increase) is necessary.

The Child Welfare Services Program funds state efforts to preserve families and avoid unnecessary foster care, and to reunite with their parents children who have been placed in foster care. A FY 1989 appropriation of $266 million (an increase of $27 million) for the Title IV-B Child Welfare Services Program will allow states to expand their efforts to some of the many families they are now unable to serve because of demands caused by escalating reports of abuse and neglect. Reauthorizing the Adoption Opportunities Program will provide focused assistance on behalf of minority children and expand special post-adoption services. The extension of the Title IV-E Independent Living Initiative beyond FY 1988 will help tens of thousands of older youths in foster care make the transition to independent living.

The Social Services Block Grant (Title XX) provides a range of services for low-income children and families, including preventive services, counseling, and other supports for vulnerable abused and neglected children and their families. With 2.2 million children reported abused and neglected in 1986, funding must be restored to Title XX to support staff and provide effective services to more of the abused and neglected children and their families each year. An authorization for Title XX in FY 1989 of $3.3 billion, an increase of $550 million over the FY 1988 authorization, would be a significant first step.

The Runaway and Homeless Youth Program provides temporary shelter and other emergency services to troubled youths and facilitates family reunions when appropriate. Overcrowded shelters now are forced to turn teens away because of lack of beds or the inability to serve increasing numbers of troubled youths. The Runaway and Homeless Youth Program must be reauthorized and funded at $50 million for FY 1989, an increase of $23.9 million.

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program ensures that children and youths in the juvenile justice system receive appropriate care and treatment. Assistance to young offenders saves dollars and productive adult lives by deterring youths from more serious crime. To ensure that more youths in need are served and that greater investments can be made in preventive activities, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program must be reauthorized and funded at $100 million for FY 1989, $33.5 million more than in FY 1988.

The Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP) helps ensure that youths with serious emotional problems receive needed mental health services by improving coordination among the numerous agencies responsible for providing such services. CASSP must be funded at a level of at least $15 million for FY 1989, $7.6 million more than the FY 1988 level, to allow the extension of existing CASSP programs and to establish such initiatives in approximately half of the states without CASSP programs. In addition, a set-aside of a portion of the mental health funds in the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant for services for seriously disturbed children and adolescents should be included in the reauthorization for the program.

Housing and Homelessness

All children must be ensured a safe and stable home. Today, hundreds of thousands of American children are homeless, a startling indication of the overwhelming shortage of housing for low-income families. Homelessness can devastate children and their parents, affecting both their physical and mental health and interfering with children's development and educational progress. A number of the specific needs of homeless children are addressed by programs discussed elsewhere in this agenda, including shelters for runaway youths; independent living programs; and health, education, and nutrition assistance. A real solution to the needs of homeless families, nonetheless, will come only with a renewed and extensive commitment to ensuring decent, safe, and affordable housing for every family.

Improved access to housing: Discrimination against families with children in the housing market keeps them out of many vacant units. The existing federal Fair Housing Act should be amended to extend protections to the disabled and families with children.

Improved availability and affordability of housing: The number of low-income housing units must be increased to meet the needs of the nation's poor families. Only about 16 percent of very-low-income families today receive any kind of federal housing assistance. It will take years of significant incremental increases in both funding and construction to restore low-income housing supply and assistance even to 1980 levels. Assistance should be provided to no fewer than 300,000 new households each year, the average number of new households assisted each year between 1976 and 1981. About 100,000 new units should be constructed each year, with the remaining households provided certificates for subsidized housing. Incentives should be created to encourage owners to keep their units available to low-income families when the original Section 8 contract expires. Section 8 certificates should not be replaced with vouchers or other mechanisms that result in low-income families paying more than 30 percent of their incomes for subsidized housing.

Health

Our nation must ensure that all children, adolescents, and families have affordable, appropriate health care. Yet 35 million Americans, one-third of whom are children, lack any type of health insurance coverage, public or private. The consequences stemming from the lack of access to health care in this country are startling: the U.S. infant mortality rate ties for last place among twenty industrialized countries; virtually none of the Surgeon General's modest health goals for maternal and child health for 1990 will be met; and the immunization of our children against preventable diseases is declining seriously.

Health care provided to children, especially preventive health measures taken throughout a child's life, is immensely effective, paying off in improved health as well as in financial savings for government and society. Children who receive comprehensive pediatric care, including preventive services, have been shown to have annual health care costs 10 to 25 percent less than children who do not. The time is long overdue for the nation that leads the world in medical technology to ensure the provision of health care for all its children and families. The following proven investments in the health of our children must be undertaken immediately.

Medicaid provides access to health care for approximately half the low-income children and families otherwise uninsured. This joint federal-state public health program must be extended to all pregnant women and children younger than eighteen with family incomes below the poverty line, without regard to family composition. In addition:

- States must be required to provide children with all medically necessary pediatric care, without "amount, duration, and scope" limitations other than medical necessity.
- Families with children whose family incomes are between 100 and 200 percent of the federal poverty line and that are otherwise uninsured must be permitted to purchase Medicaid coverage on a sliding-fee scale. Employers should be required either to underwrite the cost of health insurance for their employees or to contribute to the cost of this program.

The Maternal and Child Health Block Grant provides basic prenatal care, check-ups, immunizations, and other essential health services to low-income mothers and children. An investment of $561 million is required to continue the development of these projects in all medically underserved areas.

Community and Migrant Health Centers provide comprehensive health services to low-income families as an essential component of federal health care efforts. A FY 1989 investment of $479 million is required for improved health services in areas with high infant mortality rates and for the development of additional health centers in medically underserved areas.

The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) provides nutritional supplements to low-income, at-risk pregnant women, infants, and children. Recent evidence shows the program is effective in preventing premature births, fetal deaths, and other problems among pregnant women and newborn babies. Despite its success, WIC is provided to fewer than half of those eligible and in need of its services. An additional investment of between $1 billion and $2 billion is required to extend WIC services to all needy and eligible women, infants, and children.

The Family Planning Program provides essential health, education, and family planning services to young women and mothers. Family planning services have been shown to save $2.00 for each $1.00 spent through preventing unintended pregnancies. An investment of $163 million is needed to permit this program to serve populations in need more adequately.

Immunizations ensure the health of our children and save future medical costs by preventing polio, diphtheria, measles, mumps, tetanus, and whooping cough. While all children must be appropriately immunized, the levels of immunization of preschool-aged children have worsened, with troubling results. A national commitment to fulfill the Surgeon General's modest immunization goals is essential, and would require an additional investment of $40 million.

Food and Nutrition for Children and Families

All children need adequate nutrition to grow up healthy and without developmental problems. Yet millions of needy infants and pregnant women are denied access to the nutritional assistance known to aid in the prevention of infant death and debilitating conditions, and far too many children go to bed hungry. The following proposals are designed to improve and expand successful federal food and nutrition programs for pregnant women, infants, children, and families:

WIC provides nutritional supplements to low-income, at-risk pregnant women, infants, and children. Recent evidence shows the program is effective in preventing premature births, fetal deaths, and other problems among pregnant women and newborn babies. Despite its success, WIC is provided to fewer than half of those eligible and in need of its services. An additional investment of between $1 billion and $2 billion is required to extend WIC services to all needy and eligible women, infants, and children.

Food stamps provide critical help to millions of low-income American families each month. The following are important first steps to ensure that poor families have a better chance of making it through the month without running out of food.

- **Benefit levels adjustment** to ensure needy families food assistance benefits based on the projected average costs of the "thrifty food plan" for each fiscal year, rather than out-of-date costs. The thrifty food plan is the minimal food plan devised by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, but food stamp benefits each year fall below the cost of the plan because of unnecessary time lags in benefit adjustment.

- **Reinstatement of outreach** to inform eligible families of the benefits, rules, requirements, and application procedures for food stamps. The outreach component was abolished in 1981. Many of the neediest families remain outside the food stamp program because they mistakenly believe they are ineligible.
- **A child support disregard** to help needy families by extending the AFDC child support disregard (currently $50 a month) to food stamps. This provision, which facilitates uniform program administration, also makes the child support provisions in the 1985 farm bill more effective.
- **An improved child care deduction** to assist low-income working families by altering the food stamp disregard for child care expenses from $160 per month per family, regardless of the number of children in care, matching the more logical AFDC program rule that allows a monthly deduction for each child in care (currently $160 and proposed to be raised to $175).
- **Benefits for low-income college students** to allow poor young people to continue to be eligible for food stamps while in college. Currently, needy youths are disqualified while pursuing higher education as a route out of poverty.
- **Optional monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting** to allow states to choose whether to use currently mandatory reporting and budgeting methods that arbitrarily disqualify many families that have trouble with the paperwork but greatly need the food stamps because their current incomes are so low.
- **A change in assets limits** is needed to increase the basic food stamp assets limits and the vehicle limit to the levels recommended in 1984 by the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. Assets limits were not adjusted from 1971 to 1985, despite high inflation. A small upward adjustment in 1985 was less than the President's Task Force recommended.

The Child Care Food Program helps provide meals to children in day care by assisting with the cost of such meals. Currently, however, assistance is limited to two meals and one snack each day, despite the fact that many children are in such facilities for long hours. Restoring assistance to provide for another meal and snack for these children (as was done prior to 1981) would better assure their health and nutrition.

The Summer Food Program helps feed poor children in summer months when school is out. The program's current restriction that sponsors must be schools or government agencies, excluding nonprofit organizations, effectively has led to the end of this food program in many areas. Restoring eligibility of nonprofits to serve meals under selected circumstances would enable the program to reach more hungry children.

HOW CONGRESS STANDS ON CHILDREN

CDF's Nonpartisan Voting Record of 1987

Introduction

Children can't vote, but the votes cast each year by the 100 members of the United States Senate and the 435 members of the United States House of Representatives vitally affect their lives and their futures. The Children's Defense Fund urges all Americans concerned about the well-being of our nation's children and their preparation for the future to inform themselves and their elected representatives about the importance of these votes. Elected officials are accountable for the decisions they make and the votes they cast, which are critical to their constituents and to the nation, and they must be urged to do better. It is therefore essential that parents, teachers, religious leaders, advocates, and all those concerned with the plight of the nation's children and families periodically review the decisions and votes affecting children made by their members of Congress. To assist in this effort, CDF, as part of its lobbying activities, compiles every year a record of the key votes affecting low-income children, adolescents, and families cast by representatives and senators. Based on each member's position on each of these key votes, CDF calculates an overall rating.

Members of Congress cast hundreds of votes each year, but every vote counts. A single vote by a single member can determine whether or not a child in Tulsa or Detroit is immunized against preventable disease or a youngster in Omaha or Los Angeles can be enrolled in a Head Start program. In total, voting records are the clearest reflection of the value an elected official places on children's health, education, training, care, and support.

CDF has reviewed all the votes affecting children cast on the floor of the U.S. House and U.S. Senate during 1987. A rating was determined for each member on the basis of ten votes considered by CDF to be the most important to the lives and well-being of America's children—particularly poor and minority children. The significance of the program or service involved, the number of children potentially affected, the importance of the vote to the eventual outcome, and the closeness of the vote were among the factors taken into account in the selection of these key votes.

Those selected for 1987 include votes on specific children's programs, such as federal elementary and secondary education programs, and others on large omnibus-type bills that affect many different issues and programs, such as the budget reconciliation bill. Omnibus legislative packages are becoming routine, as Congress consolidates many different issues and pieces of legislation, sometimes unrelated to one another, into one giant bill. Despite their size and diversity, these bills have been included among the key votes when several components critically affect the interests of America's children. The rating also includes votes concerning federal processes or important institutions that affect children's lives, such as the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court and changes in the annual budget process.

Votes are only one of several actions members can take in support of children. Strong and vocal leadership on issues, developing and introducing legislation, and educating colleagues and the public are critically important as well. Ultimately, however, the voting rating reflects the priority a member of Congress places on children, and in 1987, thirty-six senators and 168 representatives rated 90 or 100. CDF applauds these members and urges their constituents to thank them for their fine work in support of America's children. Similarly we urge the constituents of the eight senators and 108 representatives who rated only 20 or less to devote the necessary time and attention to educate their senators and representatives about the needs of children in their states and districts and about effective federal efforts to meet those needs.

During 1988 members of Congress will have new opportunities to demonstrate the value they place on investments in America's children and their future. Votes on federal spending plans will be key and will determine the priority members place on the health, education, training, and care of the children who will become the parents, workers, and leaders of the twenty-first century.

CDF hopes that the voting rating for 1988 will show that senators and representatives received a clear message from their constituents about the importance of America's children. Support for investments in children is strong and is growing among the public as well as among business and economic leaders. Communicating that support through regular letters, telephone calls, and visits is essential for convincing elected officials to vote for the investments in children required for their development into healthy, educated, and productive adults.

Letters to your senators may be sent to:

The Honorable ______________________________
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Letters to your representatives may be sent to:

The Honorable ______________________________
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Your senators and representatives can be reached through the U.S. Capitol Switchboard at (202) 224-3121.

Members may miss a crucial vote for many reasons, some unavoidable. Nevertheless, a missed vote because of an absence may affect the ultimate outcome and thus is taken into account in this rating. An asterisk is placed beside the name of any member whose rating reflects three or more absences.

As a public charity, CDF is permitted under the Tax Reform Act of 1976 to spend a small percentage of its budget on legislative activities.

The compilation of these votes was prepared by Legislate, a computerized legislative service, and is based on Legislate's record of the votes.

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Senate Votes: Explanation

Homeless: (H.R. 558) Vote on Senate substitute to bill to authorize programs for the homeless, including transitional housing for homeless families and education assistance for homeless children. Passed 85-12 on April 9, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

FY 1988 Budget Resolution: (S. Con. Res. 49) Vote on Budget Resolution for FY 1988 as recommended by the Budget Committee, allowing spending increases in selected programs for low-income children and families. Passed 56-42 on May 6, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Supplemental funds: (H.R. 1827) Vote on final passage of bill to provide supplemental funds for various programs for FY 1987, including Maternal and Child Health, Foster Care, Work Incentive, and homeless programs. Passed 71-23 on June 2, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Gramm-Rudman change: (H.J. Res. 324) Vote on motion to allow vote on plan to revise Gramm-Rudman deficit targets, reinstate automatic spending cut provisions, and make other changes in the congressional budget process. Rejected 47-49 on July 23, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject.**

Low-income energy assistance: (H.R. 3058) Vote on a motion to waive budget limits in order to restore funding for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP). Rejected 47-50 on October 14, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Children's appropriations: (H.R. 3058) Vote on annual Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriation, providing increased funding for many programs for low-income children and families. Passed 81-15 on October 14, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Bork nomination: Vote on nomination of Robert Bork to the U. S. Supreme Court. Rejected 42-58 on October 23, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject.**

Education programs: (S. 373) Vote on a bill to reauthorize elementary and secondary education programs through 1993, including Chapter 1, magnet schools, and bilingual education, and to establish several new educational initiatives. Passed 97-1 on December 1, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Spending freeze: (S. 1920) Vote on motion to table amendment to the budget reconciliation bill to freeze FY 1988 spending at FY 1987 levels, restrict Social Security inflation adjustment, and delay tax rate reductions. Passed 71-25 on December 10, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Reconciliation: (H.R. 3545) Vote on a conference report to reconciliation bill for FY 1988 to reduce deficit primarily through revenue increases, and including provisions to improve Medicaid coverage for low-income pregnant women and children and to increase the authorization for the Social Services Block Grant (Title XX). Passed 61-28 on December 21, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

House Votes: Explanation

Homeless: (H.R. 558) Vote on bill to authorize $725 million over four years for new aid to the homeless. Passed 264-121 on March 5, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

FY 1988 Budget Resolution: (H.Con.Res. 93) Vote on FY 1988 Budget Resolution as recommended by the Budget Committee, with priority for funding increases for programs for low-income children and families. Passed 230-192 on April 9, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Education programs: (H.R. 5) Vote on bill to reauthorize federal elementary and secondary school programs through FY 1993, including Chapter

1, and to establish several new educational initiatives. Passed 401-1 on May 21, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

Low-Income housing: (H.R. 4) Vote on bill to authorize $15.9 billion for housing and community development programs in FY 1988. Passed 285-120 on June 11, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

Gramm-Rudman change: (H.J. Res. 324) Vote on motion to instruct House to agree to revised Gramm-Rudman automatic across-the-board spending cut procedures and other changes in congressional budget process. Passed 267-156 on August 4, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject**.

Children's appropriations: (H.R. 3058) Vote on amendment to reduce funding by 2 percent in all discretionary programs in the FY 1988 Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriations bill, including programs for children and families. Rejected 181-245 on August 5, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject**.

Children's appropriations: (H.R. 3058) Vote on FY 1988 Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriations bill providing funding increases for many programs for low-income children and families. Passed 336-89 on August 5, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

Spending freeze: (H.J. Res. 394) Vote on a motion to send the omnibus Continuing Resolution back to committee with instructions to freeze spending at FY 1987 levels for all discretionary programs, including programs for children and families. Rejected 198-220 on December 3, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject**.

Welfare reform: (H.R. 1720) Vote on a bill to reform the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, through expanded education, training, and employment opportunities, supportive services, including child care and transitional assistance, fiscal incentives for benefit improvements, and a mandate of AFDC-UP. Passed 230-194 on December 16, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

FY 1988 Reconciliation: (H.R. 3545) Vote on a conference report to the FY 1988 Budget Reconciliation bill to reduce the deficit primarily through revenue increases, and with provisions to improve Medicaid coverage for low-income pregnant women and children and increase the authorization for the Social Services Block Grant (Title XX). Passed 237-181 on December 21, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

NONPARTISAN VOTING RECORD OF 1987

SENATE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Supplemental Funds	Gramm-Rudman Change	Low-Income Energy Assistance	Children's Appropriations	Bork Nomination	Education Programs	Spending Freeze	Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
ALABAMA											
Heflin	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	70
Shelby	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	70
ALASKA											
Murkowski	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	?	30
Stevens	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
ARIZONA											
DeConcini	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
McCain	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	50
ARKANSAS											
Bumpers	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	70
Pryor	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
CALIFORNIA											
Cranston	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Wilson	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	?	-	40
COLORADO											
Armstrong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
Wirth	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	70
CONNECTICUT											
Dodd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
Weicker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
DELAWARE											
Biden*	?	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	-	+	60
Roth	-	-	?	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	40
FLORIDA											
Chiles	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
Graham	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
GEORGIA											
Fowler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
Nunn	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	80
HAWAII											
Inouye	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Matsunaga	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
IDAHO											
McClure	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	30
Symms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
ILLINOIS											
Dixon	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	70
Simon*	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	?	?	50
INDIANA											
Lugar	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
Quayle	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
IOWA											
Grassley	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	?	50
Harkin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
KANSAS											
Dole	+	-	?	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
*Kassebaum**	-	-	?	-	?	?	-	+	-	+	20
KENTUCKY											
Ford	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
McConnell	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	50
LOUISIANA											
Breaux	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
Johnston	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90

SENATE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Supplemental Funds	Gramm-Rudman Change	Low-Income Energy Assistance	Children's Appropriations	Bork Nomination	Education Programs	Spending Freeze	Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
MAINE											
Cohen	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	60
Mitchell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MARYLAND											
Mikulski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Sarbanes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MASSACHUSETTS											
Kennedy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
Kerry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MICHIGAN											
Levin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	80
Riegle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MINNESOTA											
Boschwitz	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	60
Durenberger	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	60
MISSISSIPPI											
Cochran	?	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
Stennis	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	?	+	+	70
MISSOURI											
Bond	-	-	+	-	-	?	-	+	+	-	30
Danforth	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	60
MONTANA											
Baucus	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	60
Melcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NEBRASKA											
Exon	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	70
Karnes	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
NEVADA											
Hecht	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	40
Reid	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
Humphrey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
Rudman	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	30
NEW JERSEY											
Bradley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Lautenberg	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NEW MEXICO											
Bingaman	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
Domenici	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	60
NEW YORK											
D'Amato	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	60
Moynihan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NORTH CAROLINA											
Helms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
Sanford	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	100
NORTH DAKOTA											
Burdick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	90
Conrad	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	80

KEY: Y (yes) N (no) indicates CDF position for (Y) or against (N) vote. + indicates votes in support of CDF position; - indicates votes in opposition to CDF position; ? = was not present for vote; % = number of times voted for CDF position/total number of votes — absences during voting are computed as a negative vote; * indicates missed three or more votes. Republicans in italics.

SENATE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Supplemental Funds	Gramm-Rudman Change	Low-Income Energy Assistance	Children's Appropriations	Bork Nomination	Education Programs	Spending Freeze	Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
OHIO											
Glenn	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
Metzenbaum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
OKLAHOMA											
Boren	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	?	50
Nickles	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	30
OREGON											
Hatfield	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	70
Packwood	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	60
PENNSYLVANIA											
Heinz	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
Specter	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
RHODE ISLAND											
Chafee	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
Pell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
SOUTH CAROLINA											
Hollings	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	50
Thurmond	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
SOUTH DAKOTA											
Daschle	+	+	+		-	+	+	+	-	-	70
Pressler	+	?	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
TENNESSEE											
Gore*	+	?	+	?	?	?	+	+	?	?	40
Sasser	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
TEXAS											
Bentsen	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	?	80
Gramm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
UTAH											
Garn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	20
Hatch	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	50
VERMONT											
Leahy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Stafford	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
VIRGINIA											
Trible	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	50
Warner	?	-	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	40
WASHINGTON											
Adams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Evans	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	40
WEST VIRGINIA											
Byrd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Rockefeller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
WISCONSIN											
Kasten	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	40
Proxmire	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	60
WYOMING											
Simpson	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	40
Wallop	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
ALABAMA											
1 *Callahan*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
2 *Dickinson*	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	10
3 Nichols	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	50
4 Bevill	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Flippo	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	80
6 Erdreich	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	70
7 Harris	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	60
ALASKA											
1 *Young, D.*	?	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	40
ARIZONA											
1 *Rhodes*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20
2 Udall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 *Stump*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
4 *Kyl*	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	10
5 *Kolbe*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
ARKANSAS											
1 Alexander	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	80
2 Robinson	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	60
3 *Hammerschmidt*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
4 Anthony	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
CALIFORNIA											
1 Bosco	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	70
2 *Herger*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
3 Matsui	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 Fazio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5 Pelosi	O	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Boxer	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
7 Miller, G.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
8 Dellums	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9 Stark	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
10 Edwards, D.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11 Lantos	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
12 *Konnyu*	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13 Mineta	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100

KEY: Y (yes), N (no) indicates CDF position for (Y) or against (N) vote. + indicates votes in support of CDF position; - indicates vote in opposition to CDF position; ? = was not present for vote O = not a member at time of vote; % = number of times voted for CDF position/total number of votes — absences during voting are computed as negative votes; * indicates missed three or more votes; ** indicates Speaker of the House (votes only in a tie). Republicans in italic.

throughout our country. Our goal must be to increase the number of those with a rating of 90 or more to at least 51 percent of both houses of Congress.

If your delegation includes senators and House members who scored below 50, you need to go to work to sensitize them to the concerns of children and families and let them know that there is a constituency that cares. Regular visits with members at home or in Washington, D.C., frequent letters (in care of the U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510 or the U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515), and timely telephone calls to home offices or to Washington (202/224-3121) are all critically important.

Similarly, making children, families, and the poor a major part of the 1988 presidential debate and the focus of other elections will require your active involvement to make preventive investment a part of the political currency in

Children Are Good Politics

Throughout 1986 and 1987, polls have demonstrated growing public concern about the plight of America's children and the need to make greater public investment in children.

- **Seventy-four percent think the problems of children have grown worse since they were growing up (Louis Harris for Group W, 1986).**
- **Older Americans even more than the young themselves are concerned about the future for youths (Daniel Yankelovich Group for the American Association of Retired Persons, AARP, 1987).**
- **Nine in ten of those polled worry about drugs, alcohol, and teen pregnancy, and eight in ten worry about their child dropping out of school (Louis Harris for the Philip Morris Family Survey, 1987).**

These concerns translate into concern about the course of government and support for greater efforts to help children.

- **Eighty percent believe government is not doing enough for poor children (Yankelovich for AARP).**
- **Sixty-one percent disapprove of federal cutbacks in social spending since 1981, and six in ten said they could support increased social spending even if it meant a tax increase. Seventy-seven percent thought that the federal government should play a more active role in the areas of health, poverty, housing, and education. More than one in two supported increased government spending on nutrition programs for women and infants (Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for *Time*, 1987).**
- **Substantial majorities support spending more money on a wide range of children's programs, especially job training for teens (72 percent), medical care for poor children (66 percent), and prenatal care for poor women (56 percent). Those polled are willing to increase their taxes to increase funding for public schools (76 percent) and for day care programs (73 percent) (Harris for Group W).**
- **Seventy-two percent of voters favor greater emphasis on preschool education and 87 percent favor measures to prevent teenage pregnancies (Peter Hart Research Associates for KIDSPAC).**

A Prayer/Pledge of Responsibility for Children

We pray [accept responsibility] for children
who put chocolate fingers everywhere,
who like to be tickled,
who stomp in puddles and ruin their new pants,
who sneak popsicles before supper,
who erase holes in math workbooks,
who can never find their shoes.
And we pray [accept responsibility] for those
who stare at photographers from behind barbed wire,
who can't bound down the street in a new pair of sneakers,
who never "counted potatoes,"
who are born in places we wouldn't be caught dead,
who never go to the circus,
who live in an X-rated world.
We pray [accept responsibility] for children
who bring us sticky kisses and fistfuls of dandelions,
who sleep with the dog and bury goldfish,
who hug us in a hurry and forget their lunch money,
who cover themselves with Band-aids and sing off key,
who squeeze toothpaste all over the sink,
who slurp their soup.
And we pray [accept responsibility] for those
who never get dessert,
who have no safe blanket to drag behind them,
who watch their parents watch them die,
who can't find any bread to steal,
who don't have any rooms to clean up,
whose pictures aren't on anybody's dresser,
whose monsters are real.
We pray [accept responsibility] for children
who spend all their allowance before Tuesday,
who throw tantrums in the grocery store and pick at their food,
who like ghost stories,
who shove dirty clothes under the bed, and never rinse out the tub,
who get visits from the tooth fairy,
who don't like to be kissed in front of the carpool,
who squirm in church or temple and scream in the phone,
whose tears we sometimes laugh at and whose smiles can make us cry.
And we pray [accept responsibility] for those
whose nightmares come in the daytime,
who will eat anything,
who have never seen a dentist,
who aren't spoiled by anybody,
who go to bed hungry and cry themselves to sleep,
who live and move, but have no being.
We pray [accept responsibility] for children who want to be carried and
for those who must,
for those we never give up on and for those
who don't get a second chance.
For those we smother . . . and for those who will grab the hand of
anybody kind enough to offer it.

Ina J. Hughs

*"Accept responsibility" is CDF's addition.

Careless rhetoric and analysis and single solutions that misstate the problems of the poor and needed remedies are a second barrier we should try to avoid. Too often the poor are lumped together in an "underclass," which leads too many to blame the victim, conclude that nothing can be done, or seek uniform answers rather than a range of specific remedies that various groups of the poor may need at a particular time. It is important to lay out the full continuum of remedies needed to prevent and alleviate poverty while telling people where to start.

A last barrier I would mention is the widespread belief that nothing works. We must say loudly, clearly, and repeatedly, and as often as possible, that some things do work. Careful public investments do yield positive results. But we have to stick with them, implement them well, and bolster them with caring community support systems and with trained personnel. A policy is as good as the person administering it and how much they care about making it work. Therefore, we must look ahead and prepare local institutions and staffs for sound implementation of the policies we seek to enact and expand this year and over the next decade.

Step ten is being prayerful that we and those in power will be guided by justice and compassion. We have squandered our God-given opportunity to provide the world an example of decency and fairness at home and abroad and thus give proof of what humanity at its best can achieve. The year 1988 is a time for leaders and citizens who can combine positive vision with realistic individual and community actions to build new paths toward a nation and world fit to be the children's playground in the City of God. But that will take the great inner strength which comes only from inner silence, meditation, and faith. We will need inner strength more than ever in the 1990s as we face a discouraging deficit and political leaders too readily intimidated by special interest bullies. But we must not stop working hard. We must not let our political leaders off the hook. We must not let the media and politicians tell us what we believe and what children need. You who have been doing the work and caring over such long years must remain confident and strong about your mission's importance.

I share G. Campbell Morgan's belief, articulated eighty years ago:

> "God's purpose for the child and God's ideal for the child build the conditions of public life . . . . Everything in the life of the coming city will depend upon the little child. Everything will be carried forward in the interests of the little child. Among other things, the streets will be fit for children to play in . . . . When you have a city with streets fit for children you have a city with streets fit for adults. If the child is safe everyone is safe."

Marian Wright Edelman
President

CHILDREN'S STAKE IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET PROCESS

A portrait of our nation's values, the federal budget reflects the relative priority we place on alternative and often competing interests and needs. The importance America places on children—their health and well-being, education and training, care and support—is determined by the decisions made in the development of the federal budget.

Through an increasingly long and acrimonious process, the President and Congress each year craft and implement a budget for the federal government. Children have a vital stake in this process, for in it our elected representatives weigh their needs along with those of the military, the civil service, the elderly and retirees, business, agriculture, and others. Our representatives also take into consideration the views and opinions of leaders and voters in states and communities across the nation, along with those of the taxpayers who ultimately must pay the nation's bills. The federal budget finally adopted determines the level of the nation's commitment to children and the extent of its efforts to prevent infant mortality, school dropouts, teen pregnancy, and welfare dependency.

The federal budgets of the 1980s placed little value on America's children and sacrificed their future and the nation's future, creating both budget deficits and human deficits of crisis proportions. Congress now must exert the leadership and courage to chart a new budgetary course that includes the comprehensive investments in children that are being demanded by a growing number of parents, educators, business and economic leaders, and citizens. Congress must spearhead efforts to help the next generation in order to assure our future productivity and prosperity.

Federal Budgets of the 1980s: Mortgaging the Future

The federal budget, like a family budget, is composed of income and expenses. The federal government's "income" is derived primarily from taxes, and its "expenses" are the costs of diverse programs, activities, and responsibilities of national government. When federal income and expenses are equal, the budget is balanced. When federal expenses exceed federal income, the result is a budget deficit.

The federal budgets of the 1980s were characterized by:

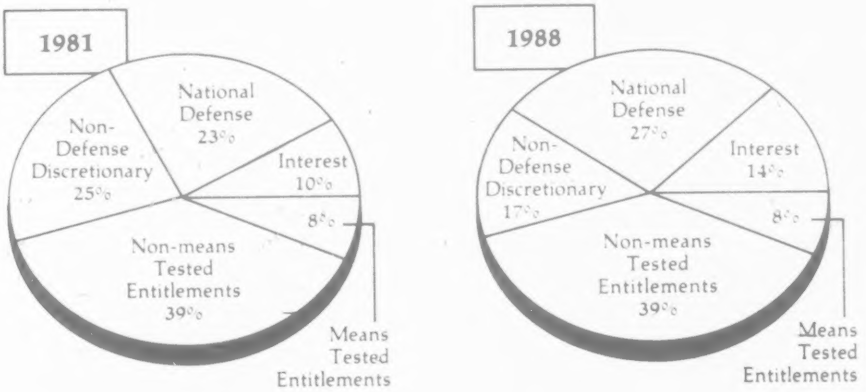
- An immense overall increase in military spending.
- A major shift in budget priorities with a dramatic increase in the proportion of the federal budget going to the military and a dramatic decrease in the proportion for children, families, and the poor.
- An insufficient amount of federal revenue; and
- Budget deficits of enormous and dangerous proportions.

These budgets mortgaged the future of all Americans, but none will bear so heavy a burden as our children. Ironically, our nation has left this legacy of deficit and debt to the same generation of children that has simultaneously been neglected by the shortsighted budget policies of the 1980s.

Budget "Winners" in the 1980s

Defense spending has skyrocketed under the Reagan Administration, significantly increasing the proportion of the federal budget devoted to military hardware and weapons systems. After allowing defense spending to increase by more than $95 billion in just four years (FY 1981 to FY 1985) and witnessing the waste and abuse that accompanied such excess, Congress finally acted first to slow and then to halt the growth in military spending. Nevertheless, defense spending maintains its place as the second largest component of the federal budget (after non-means-tested entitlements including Social Security), consuming more than 27 percent of all federal spending. Our subsidy of the military towers over our modest investment in children.

The Division of the Federal Budget Pie, FY 1981 and FY 1988



*The numbers shown for each year add up to 105 percent because of offsetting receipts that total 5 percent.

Source: Congressional Budget Office

- Federal spending for early research alone for the unproven Star Wars (Strategic Defense Initiative) venture is more than three times greater than our spending for the proven Head Start preschool program.
- More federal spending supports military musical bands than grants for the immunization of our children.

The other spending growth in the 1980s occurred in the area of benefits to individuals or corporations "entitled" to them under the law regardless of their income. Such non-means-tested entitlements are the largest component of the federal budget, and include Social Security, Medicare, and civilian and military retirement programs, as well as agricultural subsidies, veterans' health care, and unemployment compensation. Currently, more than $200 billion is spent for the Social Security program and more than $40 billion is spent for federal civilian and military retirement benefits.

The amount of spending for non-means-tested entitlements rose dramatically during this period for two reasons. First, such benefits are provided automatically each year to all current and newly eligible recipients unless Congress and the President specifically take action to limit them, and a growing number of elderly and retired persons became eligible. Second, automatic cost-of-living adjustments (or COLAs) are built into most of the non-means-tested entitlement programs. For example:

- COLAs for non-means-tested entitlement programs will increase federal spending by more than $7 billion in FY 1988, ten times the increase in federal spending for education.
- Federal spending for farm price supports in FY 1988 will be about $18 billion, more than four times federal spending for child nutrition.

Budget Losers in the 1980s

Federal spending for means-tested entitlement programs directed to recipients with limited means or income below specified amounts, always a small portion of the federal budget, barely held even from FY 1981 to FY 1988 despite a more than 10 percent growth in the number of persons living in poverty during that period. Both in 1981 and 1988 only 8 percent of federal spending was devoted to entitlement programs for the poor, including Medicaid, food stamps, child nutrition, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Currently:

- AFDC, the major welfare program, and child support enforcement efforts together consume only 1 percent of federal spending.
- Child nutrition and food stamps programs consume less than 2 percent of federal spending.

The biggest loser in the 1980s was federal spending for all the remaining programs and services of the federal government, the budget category referred to as non-defense discretionary spending. Through these programs the nation invests in its future, funding efforts to educate and train our children and youths, to immunize infants, to prevent child abuse, to protect our environment, and to maintain and enhance our highways, bridges, air, and water. Yet funding for non-defense discretionary programs has been slashed from 25 percent of federal spending in FY 1981 to 17 percent in FY 1988.

Among discretionary programs, those serving children and the poor have been hardest hit by the budget policies of the 1980s. In 1981 and 1982 massive cuts, ranging up to 25 percent and more, were made in virtually all discretionary children's programs, including education and job training, child abuse, maternal and child health, child care, and nutrition. Many of these programs were the target of deficit reduction efforts in 1986 and 1987 as well. Overall, spending for discretionary programs for low-income Americans was cut by more than 50 percent between FY 1981 and FY 1987 after adjusting for inflation, according to the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities.

- Federal spending for Chapter 1, the highly effective compensatory education program, was cut more than 10 percent (adjusted for inflation) during this period.
- Federal support for low-income housing was cut by nearly 80 percent after inflation.

America's children and, ultimately, our economy and our future are the biggest losers from the budget policies of the 1980s. Not only has our nation neglected to prepare the children of the 1980s to be the productive work force of the twenty-first century, but the budget policies of this decade have saddled them with a monumental national debt and budget deficits of dangerous and historical proportions.

Like a family that spends more than it makes, the federal government's spending spree for the military combined with drastic reductions in federal revenues has forced the nation to borrow more and more funds to pay its current bills. Since 1981 the federal government has borrowed more than $1.2 trillion, tripling the national debt and rapidly transforming the United States from a creditor to a debtor nation. Interest payments alone are estimated to exceed $150 billion in the current fiscal year, up more than $80 billion since 1981 and consuming 14 percent of the federal budget.

- The national debt is equivalent to a debt of about $30,000 for every American family.
- The annual interest on the national debt equals approximately $2,400 for each American child.

In recent years, Congress has made modest, halting attempts to reverse the disastrous budget policies of the Reagan era. Congressional budgets developed in 1986 and 1987 placed priority on increased investment in America's children and sharply limited the growth in military spending. But congressional attempts to reduce the budget deficit failed to tackle the hardest issues or resolve the budgetary and human deficits facing the nation.

Ill-Conceived Deficit Reduction Plans

In 1985 Congress enacted a poorly conceived attempt to deal with the budget deficit problem: the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act (PL 99-177). The new law mandated that the federal government achieve a balanced budget through substantial and specific annual reductions in the federal deficit over the next several years. The law imposed severe procedures to do this, notably the automatic across-the-board spending cuts to be made in most federal programs unless Congress and the President could agree on and enact alternatives to meet the tough deficit reduction targets. Failure to enact an alternative in 1986 resulted in the first round of automatic across-the-board cuts in most federal programs, further reducing investments in children and youths. Congress revised the law in 1987, creating another automatic across-the-board mechanism to replace the one ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court the year before, and adjusted the deficit targets as follows:

YEAR	DEFICIT TARGET
FY 1989	$136 billion
FY 1990	$100 billion
FY 1991	$ 64 billion
FY 1992	$ 28 billion
FY 1993	$ 0

In 1987 the stock market crash, together with a threatened second round of Gramm-Rudman cuts, prompted deficit reduction negotiations between Congress and the Reagan Administration. This "Budget Summit" produced a two-year deficit reduction agreement that met the FY 1988 Gramm-Rudman target and precluded another round of across-the-board cuts, but the costs were great: investments in children were reduced by the summit's requirement that total non-defense discretionary spending be cut. The summit also required small tax and revenue increases, and modest reductions in defense spending and Medicare. Future investments in children also will be restricted by the severe limits the summit placed on domestic discretionary spending for the upcoming fiscal year.

Federal Budgets for the 1990s: Investments in the Future

Our nation's strength, social fabric, and international competitiveness depend on Congress' budget decisions for FY 1989 and the 1990s. Congress must address both the budget deficit and the human development deficit that have resulted from unwise and shortsighted budget policies. The American public must join with business leaders and economic leaders in urging our elected leaders to make the hard choices necessary to bring the budget policies under control.

Effective reduction of our budget deficits cannot be accomplished without addressing seriously the military and non-means-tested entitlement spending that together consume more than 65 percent of the federal budget. Congress and the President must also face the reality that federal taxes are insufficient to support current federal spending. While the options are limited and the decisions are difficult, courage and leadership are required to put our economic house in order.

Similarly, effective reduction of our human development deficit cannot be accomplished without substantial new investments in the new generations of young Americans plagued by high child poverty rates and all of the corollary problems—high infant mortality rates, teenage pregnancy, school dropouts, high rates of abuse and neglect, and joblessness. A national investment plan is essential if America's children are to acquire the education, skills, health, and character our nation will need from them if we are to maintain our leadership role in the twenty-first century.

The Children's Defense Fund has proposed a series of sound investments in our nation's children and youths to be incorporated into the federal budget in FY 1989 and beyond (see Legislative Agenda chapter). CDF's proposals target investments in proven, effective efforts for children that produce social and financial benefits to society many times their cost. Proposed investments include: early childhood development, education, and training that improve the basic skills and preparation of today's children and youths and tomorrow's work force; child care that can ensure the well-being of our children and improve the productivity of their working parents; and health care that prevents long-term disabilities and deaths. In an era of limits, these investments are targeted on initiatives that are cost-effective.

Numerous polls have shown that support for investments in our children and our future has been growing. But this support will mean little unless translated into substantial new investment efforts in our federal budgets for FY 1989 and beyond.

It is essential that every citizen who cares about children make his or her voice heard in the federal budget process. While the process is long and complicated, the basic steps are outlined in the Budget Process box.

Budget Process At A Glance

Step One: The President and his Administration develop a detailed proposed budget for the upcoming fiscal year. The President formally presents this proposal to Congress in January or February.

Step Two: Congress begins a lengthy process of its own. After weighing the priorities of the President and those of 100 senators and 435 members of the House of Representatives, a final Congressional Budget Resolution supported by the majority of both houses determines the broad outlines of federal spending and income policies for the fiscal year.

Step Three: Congress then embarks upon the implementation of its budget policies. Appropriations legislation must be developed and approved by the President, translating the budget's spending limits and priorities into specific funding levels for thousands of federal programs and services, such as Head Start and childhood immunization. Reconciliation legislation also must be developed and approved by the President to translate the budget principles into the necessary changes in tax laws and entitlement programs.

At every step in the process our leaders must hear strong support for investments in children and our nation's future. While at various stages one or another particular group of leaders, such as the members of the House and Senate Budget Committees (listed in Appendix B) are especially important, ultimately every national official—the President and each senator and representative—is involved. Communication from constituents—letters, visits, and phone calls—can have a powerful effect on reshaping the priorities reflected in our federal budget.

CDF'S LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FOR THE 100TH CONGRESS

Investments in our Children, Investments in our Future

A strengthened national commitment to America's children has the overwhelming support of the American public and business, education, and economic leaders. Reflecting the growing consensus of concern about America's children, CDF's Legislative Agenda proposes a series of cost-effective investments designed to ensure that every child in our nation can grow into a strong, healthy, productive, and self-sufficient adult. CDF urges all members of Congress to join in a bipartisan effort to enact these critically needed investments in the second session of the 100th Congress.

Investments in our nation's children—their care, health, development, education, and training—are investments in America's future. The children of the 1990s will become the work force of the twenty-first century—with a shrinking proportion of young workers whom we will expect to maintain the nation's standard of living and shoulder its enormous debt, while supporting a growing aging and retired population at home and meeting the increasing challenge of economic competition abroad.

No nation can remain secure nor continue to prosper and lead the world when its children are the poorest segment of its population, and its government deprives them of the necessities of survival and growth and neglects their preparation and potential. The U.S. infant mortality rate is among the worst of all industrialized nations, and the basic academic skills of nearly a third of all potential recruits for the armed forces fall below acceptable standards for enlistment. In its report, *Children In Need: Investment Strategies for the Educationally Disadvantaged*, the business-led Committee for Economic Development reports that fewer than 50 percent of high school seniors read at levels considered adequate for even moderately complex tasks, and warns: "If we continue to squander the talents of millions of our children, America will become a nation of limited human potential."

Further neglect of America's children only will add to the complex fiscal and economic difficulties already facing the nation and weaken our nation's eroding international leadership. Failure to meet our children's needs drains the nation's treasury. The students who drop out of high school in one year will cost the nation more than $228 billion in lost lifetime earnings and taxes, according to a recent study. "It is hard to imagine any long term economic renaissance—especially one built on working smarter—without a determined investment in the most precious of our assets—the skills, intellect, work habits, health and character of our children," writes former Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson.

CDF's Legislative Agenda for the 100th Congress is built on "working smarter" and presents a strategy of well-planned, mutually reinforcing investments in America's children. It places first priority on preventing sickness and death, academic failure and dropping out, unemployment, and reliance on public assistance. Because public resources are limited, the Legislative Agenda targets investments in preventive programs of proven success that provide valuable additional returns on the scarce dollars invested.

- To prevent infant mortality, we urge increased investments in comprehensive prenatal care, which has been proven to return $3.38 in lower health care costs for every $1.00 invested.
- To prevent school failure and dependency, we urge a substantial new investment in Head Start, which has been shown to return $4.75 for every $1.00 invested in such early childhood development programs.
- To prevent youth unemployment, we urge additional investments in the Jobs Corps, which has been demonstrated to return $1.45 for every $1.00 invested.

Ultimately, it is responsible investments in America's children that will produce the economic growth and prosperity that benefits all Americans. CDF's Legislative Agenda presents these responsible investments to Congress and our national leaders and urges their full endorsement and speedy implementation.

Early Childhood Development and Child Care

In their earliest years, all children must be ensured the care, safety, and support demonstrated to be essential to their later successful development. While the family role is critical, public support is increasingly required because more than one-half of all mothers with preschool children are now in the labor force and more than two-thirds are expected to be working by the mid-1990s. Child care costs average $3,000 a year, an amount equal to more than 20 percent of the median income of female householders and greater than 10 percent of the median income of all working families in 1986.

Comprehensive early childhood development programs have demonstrated extraordinary returns for young children and society, and quality child care reaps benefits many times over for children, parents, and employers. Yet national policies have restricted the number of slots in Head Start, our most effective federal early childhood development program, to less than 20 percent of the number of disadvantaged preschoolers requiring it. The United States is one of the few industrialized countries without a comprehensive child care policy. Congressional leadership must be directed to the needs of young children, and must include the following investments in their lives.

The Act for Better Child Care Services (ABC) would assist states to increase the availability of quality child care services and help low-income working families meet their child care expenses. The immediate authorization of ABC (H.R. 3660, S. 1885), and the investment of $2.5 billion in this joint federal-state effort is necessary to:

- Assist working families earning up to 115 percent of the state median income (adjusted for family size) in meeting child care expenses, with the amount of assistance depending on the level of family income.

- Assist states in increasing the availability of quality child care providers and facilities through grants and low-interest loans, recruitment and training efforts, resource and referral programs, and coordination with existing Head Start, Chapter 1, and early childhood development programs.
- Improve the quality of child care through minimum standards for parental involvement, basic health, safety, supervision, and training.

Head Start provides critical developmental, educational, and health services to disadvantaged preschoolers and their parents, improving their long-term school and employment prospects. A five-year investment plan to boost participation in this most effective preschool program to serve half of all eligible children by 1993 requires an additional investment of $400 million each year.

The Social Services Block Grant (Title XX) helps states fund a range of critical services for children and families, including day care services that allow low-income parents with young children to work. As the need for child care, child abuse prevention, and other services for children increases, Title XX assistance to states must be increased by raising the authorization level to $3.3 billion.

Comprehensive child development centers would provide early and comprehensive services to disadvantaged mothers, infants, and toddlers. The immediate authorization of these centers and the investment of $25 million for demonstration projects will improve the opportunities for success for participating families and reduce the likelihood of school dropout, teenage pregnancy, and adult dependency.

Youth Training and Employment

America's youths must develop the skills and training necessary for productive employment in the nation's rapidly changing job market. The national labor pool is shrinking and the estimated shortage of educated and qualified workers may reach as high as 20 million by 1990, while millions of American youths are unprepared, unskilled, and unemployed.

Federal training efforts have been successful in preparing disadvantaged youths for productive employment. Yet even the most effective federal program—the Job Corps—has funds to train only 3 percent of unemployed teens, and many promising state and local efforts stagnate for lack of federal support. The following investments in the skills and talents of America's youths not only will reduce the social and economic costs of unemployment, but most importantly will increase the pool of educated and qualified members of our work force.

Job Corps provides disadvantaged youths the basic education, vocational training, and support that have been shown by research to increase school completion, employment, and earnings. An increased federal investment of $200 million is necessary to train an additional 20,000 disadvantaged youths for productive work.

The Summer Youth Employment Program offers disadvantaged youths important work experience during the summer months, but the program's benefits should be enhanced by supplementing work experience with remedial education for all participants with basic skills below grade level. An additional $200 million investment would support incentive grants to communities that offer enriched summer programs.

Community learning centers provide additional learning opportunities for poor and minority teens in out-of-school settings. Community learning centers should be authorized with an initial investment of $75 million to establish new centers and capitalize state-administered revolving loan funds that would help centers acquire basic skills curricula, cost-effective microcomputers, and other educational materials of demonstrated effectiveness.

School-to-work transition provides disadvantaged youths the job search and placement assistance necessary for their successful entry into the labor market. The authorization and federal investment of $50 million is required to match state investments in effective, low-cost, school-to-work transition programs to help disadvantaged youths secure productive employment.

Work and service opportunities provide disadvantaged youths with valuable work experience and assist communities with important conservation, housing, and human service projects. The authorization and investment of $100 million is required to stimulate the expansion of current state and local efforts through large-scale testing of promising models.

Replication of model programs provides local service providers with better information and practical advice regarding successful approaches to youth employment and training. A national panel of experts should be established to review and certify promising models, and $20 million should be invested to support dissemination, technical assistance, and ongoing research.

Apprenticeship study would develop options for integrating existing apprenticeship programs and a wide range of community college and training institutions into a more comprehensive apprenticeship system. A study commission should be established to develop plans for such a system to encourage the motivation of young people and enhance the supply of trained workers for emerging industries.

Education

American children must be ensured the opportunity to gain the basic skills and education required for employment and advancement in the twenty-first century. The job markets of the future require an increasingly skilled and educated work force, yet each year nearly three-quarters of a million young people leave public school without graduating, while many others graduate with a deficiency in basic skills. College enrollment among youths from low-income families has fallen precipitously, as well.

Numerous federal education programs have been successful in improving the basic skills and educational achievement of disadvantaged youngsters, yet such programs have been restricted to a small and shrinking proportion of those in need. Despite its exemplary record for improving basic reading and mathematics skills, the Chapter 1 Compensatory Education program serves only one-half of those currently eligible for its valuable services; most of those served are elementary school pupils, while the basic skills development of secondary students is virtually ignored. The Committee for Economic Development stresses that "quality education is not an expense; it is an investment in the future of our nation" and a determined investment in the education of America's children is long overdue.

Chapter 1 provides basic compensatory reading and mathematics services for disadvantaged elementary and secondary school students and significantly improves their educational achievements and performance. The reauthorization of Chapter 1 and the initiation of a five-year investment plan are required to ensure all educationally disadvantaged students the benefits of program participation. To reach this goal by 1993, an investment of no less than $500 million over baseline funding is required each year. The following additional steps are needed.

- **The Even Start Program** combines compensatory education for disadvantaged pre-kindergarten children and adult education services for their parents. The authorization of this grant program as a component of Chapter 1 and the investment of $50 million in such families is required to ensure disadvantaged children's readiness for elementary school.
- **Secondary school basic skills improvement and dropout prevention** would address the special educational problems of disadvantaged secondary school-aged youths. Authorization of a new grant program as a component of Chapter 1 and the initial investment of $200 million is required to establish, demonstrate, and implement dropout prevention and secondary school basic skills activities.

The Family School Partnership Act would provide demonstration grants to local education agencies for the development of innovative and promising family-school educational partnership activities. The authorization of the program and the initial investment of $10 million is required to stimulate partnership activities, including supporting family efforts to work with children at home, training Chapter 1 school personnel to work effectively with families of participating students, training families and school personnel to build an educational partnership between home and school, and evaluating family involvement activities.

The Effective Schools program would improve the educational achievement of participating children through innovative programs characterized by strong school leadership, high expectations for students coupled with emphasis on basic skills development, an orderly school atmosphere, and individualized evaluation of student performance. The program should be authorized with an initial investment of $25 million.

The Bilingual Education program provides bilingual education services to limited and non-English speaking students. Despite an estimated 2.4 million to 3.6 million children ages five to thirteen in need of such services, the program currently serves fewer than 215,000 students. Approximately 160,000 additional students can be provided this essential educational service with an investment of $250 million.

Desegregation assistance helps improve and expand efforts through the Magnet Schools Assistance Act. An investment of $150 million is required to help elementary and secondary schools eliminate and prevent minority group isolation and strengthen academic and vocational skills in these schools.

Handicapped education programs assist school districts in providing an appropriate education for handicapped children. Adequate funding is required:

- To provide states with 15 percent of the average per pupil expenditure for handicapped children by appropriating $2.218 billion for state and local programs, an increase of $787 million;
- To provide preschool grants to serve an additional 26,842 handicapped three- to five-year-olds, by appropriating $259 million (an increase of $58 million), and $75 million for early intervention programs for handicapped children from birth to age two.

Pell grants provide assistance to low-income students for their college and university expenses. A FY 1989 appropriation adequate to fund Pell grants at the maximum level of $2,600 per student will ensure increased benefits for part-time and full-time students.

Family Support

No child should be denied the basic necessities for survival—food, clothing, and shelter. Yet more than 12 million American children live in poverty, and millions of them are deprived of necessities despite the fact that their parents are working. Even full-time minimum wage work now fails to lift a family of three out of poverty because the federal minimum wage has not been adjusted since 1981. When parents are unable to work or find employment, their children suffer because public help is so extremely limited. Little education or training assistance or other supports are provided to help families move out of poverty, and those persons forced to rely on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) receive average payments of $125 per month.

The federal government has an essential role in ensuring a life of decency for all American children and assisting parents to support their children. There are many immediate steps to help families move toward economic independence and self-sufficiency, including the adjustments in the federal minimum wage and the Earned Income Tax Credit outlined below. In addition, beginning steps, a number of them already part of the House-passed Family Welfare Reform Act (H.R. 1720), must be taken to improve the federal AFDC and Child Support Enforcement programs.

The minimum wage has not been raised since 1981 and no longer provides a working family with an income adequate to support its children. An immediate increase in the current federal minimum wage of $3.35 is necessary to provide a stable earnings base for young workers and their families. The minimum wage should be raised to $3.85 in 1988, with stepped increases in subsequent years to restore the minimum wage to its real 1979 value adjusted for inflation.

The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) provides tax assistance to low-income working families and helps them support their children. The assistance is provided to families without regard to family size, penalizing large families. The EITC should be adjusted for family size to increase the amount of credit for larger families.

Improving income supports for needy families: Current AFDC benefits in most states are so low they fail to provide even a minimum level of subsistence. In twenty-eight states, AFDC benefit levels in July 1987 were less than 50 percent of the poverty level. Even combined AFDC and food stamp benefits were less than 75 percent of the poverty level in more than one-half of the states. And in twenty-four states, children in two-parent unemployed families are ineligible for even these low benefits, regardless of how desperately poor they are. The following steps will begin to ensure families a more adequate level of subsistence to meet their needs:

- **Requiring states to adjust their need standards** to reflect adequately current living costs and to begin to raise benefits to meet those needs. A higher federal matching rate would be provided to states that do so, as an incentive to increase benefits, and by October 1992 all states would be required to provide combined AFDC and food stamp benefits at least equal to 75 percent of the federal poverty level, with subsequent increases to 100 percent of the poverty level.

- **Requiring states to cover aid for unemployed two-parent families and pregnant women** would provide AFDC to all children in needy families regardless of family composition or where in the country they live. Current restrictions on eligibility for two-parent families would be eased. A pregnant woman with no other children would be eligible for AFDC benefits from the time her pregnancy was medically verified.

- **Requiring states to improve child support enforcement efforts** by: adapting better procedures for establishing paternity for children born out of wedlock, applying uniform child support guidelines in determining support awards, and developing improved administrative procedures for monitoring the establishment and enforcement of child support awards.

Increasing work incentives to improve opportunities for self-sufficiency: Education, training, and employment opportunities currently available for AFDC recipients who want to make the transition from welfare to work and toward self-sufficiency are inadequate, and supportive services necessary to help them work, such as child care, often are unavailable. In addition, the AFDC benefit structure does little to encourage recipients to work. Rather, earnings reduce a family's AFDC grant virtually dollar-for-dollar after four months, and once ineligible for AFDC the family often loses its Medicaid and child care assistance as well. Opportunities for AFDC recipients to achieve self-sufficiency will be enhanced significantly by the following provisions:

- **Expanding the opportunity for states to establish comprehensive education, training, and employment programs for AFDC recipients** who choose to participate in them. The programs should include individual assessments of the participants and their families; offer participants their choice of a range of education, training, and employment opportunities; ensure that participants have the supportive services necessary to be involved in the activities; and measure performance in terms of long-term employability as well as shorter term educational and training accomplishments.
- **Expanding earned income disregards** would assist families on AFDC that are working at very low wages by applying disregards in both initial eligibility and benefit determinations and by removing time limits on the disregards. The standard deduction for child care and work expenses should be increased and indexed for inflation and should be provided prospectively rather than after a time lag. Child care assistance also should be provided directly or through vouchers for AFDC parents who are in employment-related education or training programs. The EITC should be disregarded for purposes of determining both AFDC and food stamp eligibility and benefit levels.
- **Providing transitional child care and health care on a sliding-fee basis** until such assistance becomes available through an employer or other means for families that lose AFDC eligibility due to employment.

Enhancing supports for teens: New, special strategies are needed to help teen parents who are on AFDC become less dependent on the program and move toward eventual self-sufficiency. These comprehensive strategies must first ensure that teen parents have the academic skills, the job skills, and the supportive services (including child care) they need to find stable employment. Investments in similar strategies also are necessary to prevent early parenthood among teens in AFDC families, thereby enhancing their opportunities for self-sufficiency. The following steps can be taken to benefit pregnant and parenting teens, as well as teens who are not yet pregnant.

- **Aid for students:** States should be required to continue benefits to youths in AFDC families to age twenty-one, provided they are enrolled full time in school or other education, training, or vocational programs, or are attending school part time and also working or participating in a training or vocational program. Any stipends received by the teen from his or her participation in an employment training program would be disregarded for purposes of determining AFDC eligibility and benefit levels.

- **Providing funds for establishing at least three case management pilot programs** designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of the case management model in supporting teens in AFDC families who are not pregnant or parents. The broker/counselor/advocate model of case management should be used to ensure that a comprehensive and coordinated set of health, education, employment preparation, recreation, and family planning services is provided to such teens.
- **Eliminating disincentives for teen parents to live at home:** The current requirements that a grandparent's income be deemed available to the grandchild for the purpose of AFDC eligibility and benefits, even when the grandparent is not contributing to the grandchild's support, and that all parents and most minor siblings be included in the AFDC unit should be repealed. Teen parents living at home then would be eligible for the assistance just as are those establishing separate households. This would encourage pregnant and parenting teens to live at home and eliminate current disincentives to such arrangements.
- **Providing funds for special grants to at least five states for comprehensive education, training, and employment programs for pregnant teens and young mothers with children younger than six** choosing to participate. The programs would be designed to meet the individual needs of participants and include a range of supportive services.

Troubled Children and Families

Child abuse, neglect, emotional disturbance, running away, and other special problems facing children and families can be prevented and treated, thereby protecting the well-being of vulnerable children and adolescents and preventing the long-term expenditure of scarce public resources as well. Critical services of proven effectiveness are currently available for only a fraction of the children in need, guaranteeing that the unmet needs of those not served will intensify. Increased opportunities and productive futures for troubled children, adolescents, and their families can be achieved by tripling federal investments in the following preventive services over the next five years.

Child abuse and family violence programs provide vital services to abused children and adolescents and other victims of family violence. The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act must be reauthorized and a funding level of $50 million ($25.2 million more than in FY 1988) should be approved for FY 1989. For the Family Violence Prevention and Services Program, which must also be reauthorized for FY 1989, $26 million (a $17.9 million increase) is necessary.

The Child Welfare Services Program funds state efforts to preserve families and avoid unnecessary foster care, and to reunite with their parents children who have been placed in foster care. A FY 1989 appropriation of $266 million (an increase of $27 million) for the Title IV-B Child Welfare Services Program will allow states to expand their efforts to some of the many families they are now unable to serve because of demands caused by escalating reports of abuse and neglect. Reauthorizing the Adoption Opportunities Program will provide focused assistance on behalf of minority children and expand special post-adoption services. The extension of the Title IV-E Independent Living Initiative beyond FY 1988 will help tens of thousands of older youths in foster care make the transition to independent living.

The Social Services Block Grant (Title XX) provides a range of services for low-income children and families, including preventive services, counseling, and other supports for vulnerable abused and neglected children and their families. With 2.2 million children reported abused and neglected in 1986, funding must be restored to Title XX to support staff and provide effective services to more of the abused and neglected children and their families each year. An authorization for Title XX in FY 1989 of $3.3 billion, an increase of $550 million over the FY 1988 authorization, would be a significant first step.

The Runaway and Homeless Youth Program provides temporary shelter and other emergency services to troubled youths and facilitates family reunions when appropriate. Overcrowded shelters now are forced to turn teens away because of lack of beds or the inability to serve increasing numbers of troubled youths. The Runaway and Homeless Youth Program must be reauthorized and funded at $50 million for FY 1989, an increase of $23.9 million.

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program ensures that children and youths in the juvenile justice system receive appropriate care and treatment. Assistance to young offenders saves dollars and productive adult lives by deterring youths from more serious crime. To ensure that more youths in need are served and that greater investments can be made in preventive activities, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program must be reauthorized and funded at $100 million for FY 1989, $33.5 million more than in FY 1988.

The Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP) helps ensure that youths with serious emotional problems receive needed mental health services by improving coordination among the numerous agencies responsible for providing such services. CASSP must be funded at a level of at least $15 million for FY 1989, $7.6 million more than the FY 1988 level, to allow the extension of existing CASSP programs and to establish such initiatives in approximately half of the states without CASSP programs. In addition, a set-aside of a portion of the mental health funds in the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant for services for seriously disturbed children and adolescents should be included in the reauthorization for the program.

Housing and Homelessness

All children must be ensured a safe and stable home. Today, hundreds of **thousands of American children are homeless,** a startling indication of the **overwhelming shortage of housing** for low-income families. Homelessness can **devastate children and their parents,** affecting both their physical and mental **health and interfering with children's development** and educational progress. A **number of the specific needs of homeless** children are addressed by programs **discussed elsewhere in this agenda,** including shelters for runaway youths; **independent living programs; and health,** education, and nutrition assistance. A **real solution to the needs of homeless families,** nonetheless, will come only with **a renewed and extensive commitment** to ensuring decent, safe, and affordable **housing for every family.**

Improved access to housing: Discrimination against families with children in the housing market keeps them out of many vacant units. The existing federal Fair Housing Act should be amended to extend protections to the disabled and families with children.

Improved availability and affordability of housing: The number of low-income housing units must be increased to meet the needs of the nation's poor families. Only about 16 percent of very-low-income families today receive any kind of federal housing assistance. It will take years of significant incremental increases in both funding and construction to restore low-income housing supply and assistance even to 1980 levels. Assistance should be provided to no fewer than 300,000 new households each year, the average number of new households assisted each year between 1976 and 1981. About 100,000 new units should be constructed each year, with the remaining households provided certificates for subsidized housing. Incentives should be created to encourage owners to keep their units available to low-income families when the original Section 8 contract expires. Section 8 certificates should not be replaced with vouchers or other mechanisms that result in low-income families paying more than 30 percent of their incomes for subsidized housing.

Health

Our nation must ensure that all children, adolescents, and families have affordable, appropriate health care. Yet 35 million Americans, one-third of whom are children, lack any type of health insurance coverage, public or private. The consequences stemming from the lack of access to health care in this country are startling: the U.S. infant mortality rate ties for last place among twenty industrialized countries; virtually none of the Surgeon General's modest health goals for maternal and child health for 1990 will be met; and the immunization of our children against preventable diseases is declining seriously.

Health care provided to children, especially preventive health measures taken throughout a child's life, is immensely effective, paying off in improved health as well as in financial savings for government and society. Children who receive comprehensive pediatric care, including preventive services, have been shown to have annual health care costs 10 to 25 percent less than children who do not. The time is long overdue for the nation that leads the world in medical technology to ensure the provision of health care for all its children and families. The following proven investments in the health of our children must be undertaken immediately.

Medicaid provides access to health care for approximately half the low-income children and families otherwise uninsured. This joint federal-state public health program must be extended to all pregnant women and children younger than eighteen with family incomes below the poverty line, without regard to family composition. In addition:

- States must be required to provide children with all medically necessary pediatric care, without "amount, duration, and scope" limitations other than medical necessity.
- Families with children whose family incomes are between 100 and 200 percent of the federal poverty line and that are otherwise uninsured must be permitted to purchase Medicaid coverage on a sliding-fee scale. Employers should be required either to underwrite the cost of health insurance for their employees or to contribute to the cost of this program.

The Maternal and Child Health Block Grant provides basic prenatal care, check-ups, immunizations, and other essential health services to low-income mothers and children. An investment of $561 million is required to continue the development of these projects in all medically underserved areas.

Community and Migrant Health Centers provide comprehensive health services to low-income families as an essential component of federal health care efforts. A FY 1989 investment of $479 million is required for improved health services in areas with high infant mortality rates and for the development of additional health centers in medically underserved areas.

The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) provides nutritional supplements to low-income, at-risk pregnant women, infants, and children. Recent evidence shows the program is effective in preventing premature births, fetal deaths, and other problems among pregnant women and newborn babies. Despite its success, WIC is provided to fewer than half of those eligible and in need of its services. An additional investment of between $1 billion and $2 billion is required to extend WIC services to all needy and eligible women, infants, and children.

The Family Planning Program provides essential health, education, and family planning services to young women and mothers. Family planning services have been shown to save $2.00 for each $1.00 spent through preventing unintended pregnancies. An investment of $163 million is needed to permit this program to serve populations in need more adequately.

Immunizations ensure the health of our children and save future medical costs by preventing polio, diphtheria, measles, mumps, tetanus, and whooping cough. While all children must be appropriately immunized, the levels of immunization of preschool-aged children have worsened with troubling results. A national commitment to fulfill the Surgeon General's modest immunization goals is essential, and would require an additional investment of $40 million.

Food and Nutrition for Children and Families

All children need adequate nutrition to grow up healthy and without developmental problems. Yet millions of needy infants and pregnant women are denied access to the nutritional assistance known to aid in the prevention of infant death and debilitating conditions, and far too many children go to bed hungry. The following proposals are designed to improve and expand successful federal food and nutrition programs for pregnant women, infants, children, and families:

WIC provides nutritional supplements to low-income, at-risk pregnant women, infants, and children. Recent evidence shows the program is effective in preventing premature births, fetal deaths, and other problems among pregnant women and newborn babies. Despite its success, WIC is provided to fewer than half of those eligible and in need of its services. An additional investment of between $1 billion and $2 billion is required to extend WIC services to all needy and eligible women, infants, and children.

Food stamps provide critical help to millions of low-income American families each month. The following are important first steps to ensure that poor families have a better chance of making it through the month without running out of food.

- **Benefit levels adjustment** to ensure needy families food assistance benefits based on the projected average costs of the "thrifty food plan" for each fiscal year, rather than out-of-date costs. The thrifty food plan is the minimal food plan devised by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, but food stamp benefits each year fall below the cost of the plan because of unnecessary time lags in benefit adjustment.

- **Reinstatement of outreach** to inform eligible families of the benefits, rules, requirements, and application procedures for food stamps. The outreach component was abolished in 1981. Many of the neediest families remain outside the food stamp program because they mistakenly believe they are ineligible.
- **A child support disregard** to help needy families by extending the AFDC child support disregard (currently $50 a month) to food stamps. This provision, which facilitates uniform program administration, also makes the child support provisions in the 1985 farm bill more effective.
- **An improved child care deduction** to assist low-income working families by altering the food stamp disregard for child care expenses from $160 per month per family, regardless of the number of children in care, matching the more logical AFDC program rule that allows a monthly deduction for each child in care (currently $160 and proposed to be raised to $175).
- **Benefits for low-income college students** to allow poor young people to continue to be eligible for food stamps while in college. Currently, needy youths are disqualified while pursuing higher education as a route out of poverty.
- **Optional monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting** to allow states to choose whether to use currently mandatory reporting and budgeting methods that arbitrarily disqualify many families that have trouble with the paperwork but greatly need the food stamps because their current incomes are so low.
- **A change in assets limits** is needed to increase the basic food stamp assets limits and the vehicle limit to the levels recommended in 1984 by the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. Assets limits were not adjusted from 1971 to 1985, despite high inflation. A small upward adjustment in 1985 was less than the President's Task Force recommended.

The Child Care Food Program helps provide meals to children in day care by assisting with the cost of such meals. Currently, however, assistance is limited to two meals and one snack each day, despite the fact that many children are in such facilities for long hours. Restoring assistance to provide for another meal and snack for these children (as was done prior to 1981) would better assure their health and nutrition.

The Summer Food Program helps feed poor children in summer months when school is out. The program's current restriction that sponsors must be schools or government agencies, excluding nonprofit organizations, effectively has led to the end of this food program in many areas. Restoring eligibility of nonprofits to serve meals under selected circumstances would enable the program to reach more hungry children.

HOW CONGRESS STANDS ON CHILDREN

CDF's Nonpartisan Voting Record of 1987

Introduction

Children can't vote, but the votes cast each year by the 100 members of the United States Senate and the 435 members of the United States House of Representatives vitally affect their lives and their futures. The Children's Defense Fund urges all Americans concerned about the well-being of our nation's children and their preparation for the future to inform themselves and their elected representatives about the importance of these votes. Elected officials are accountable for the decisions they make and the votes they cast, which are critical to their constituents and to the nation, and they must be urged to do better. It is therefore essential that parents, teachers, religious leaders, advocates, and all those concerned with the plight of the nation's children and families periodically review the decisions and votes affecting children made by their members of Congress. To assist in this effort, CDF, as part of its lobbying activities, compiles every year a record of the key votes affecting low-income children, adolescents, and families cast by representatives and senators. Based on each member's position on each of these key votes, CDF calculates an overall rating.

Members of Congress cast hundreds of votes each year, but every vote counts. A single vote by a single member can determine whether or not a child in Tulsa or Detroit is immunized against preventable disease or a youngster in Omaha or Los Angeles can be enrolled in a Head Start program. In total, voting records are the clearest reflection of the value an elected official places on children's health, education, training, care, and support.

CDF has reviewed all the votes affecting children cast on the floor of the U.S. House and U.S. Senate during 1987. A rating was determined for each member on the basis of ten votes considered by CDF to be the most important to the lives and well-being of America's children—particularly poor and minority children. The significance of the program or service involved, the number of children potentially affected, the importance of the vote to the eventual outcome, and the closeness of the vote were among the factors taken into account in the selection of these key votes.

Those selected for 1987 include votes on specific children's programs, such as federal elementary and secondary education programs, and others on large omnibus-type bills that affect many different issues and programs, such as the budget reconciliation bill. Omnibus legislative packages are becoming routine, as Congress consolidates many different issues and pieces of legislation, sometimes unrelated to one another, into one giant bill. Despite their size and diversity, these bills have been included among the key votes when several components critically affect the interests of America's children. The rating also includes votes concerning federal processes or important institutions that affect children's lives, such as the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court and changes in the annual budget process.

Votes are only one of several actions members can take in support of children. Strong and vocal leadership on issues, developing and introducing legislation, and educating colleagues and the public are critically important as well. Ultimately, however, the voting rating reflects the priority a member of Congress places on children, and in 1987, thirty-six senators and 168 representatives rated 90 or 100. CDF applauds these members and urges their constituents to thank them for their fine work in support of America's children. Similarly we urge the constituents of the eight senators and 108 representatives who rated only 20 or less to devote the necessary time and attention to educate their senators and representatives about the needs of children in their states and districts and about effective federal efforts to meet those needs.

During 1988 members of Congress will have new opportunities to demonstrate the value they place on investments in America's children and their future. Votes on federal spending plans will be key and will determine the priority members place on the health, education, training, and care of the children who will become the parents, workers, and leaders of the twenty-first century.

CDF hopes that the voting rating for 1988 will show that senators and representatives received a clear message from their constituents about the importance of America's children. Support for investments in children is strong and is growing among the public as well as among business and economic leaders. Communicating that support through regular letters, telephone calls, and visits is essential for convincing elected officials to vote for the investments in children required for their development into healthy, educated, and productive adults.

Letters to your senators may be sent to:

The Honorable ____________________
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Letters to your representatives may be sent to:

The Honorable ____________________
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Your senators and representatives can be reached through the U.S. Capitol Switchboard at (202) 224-3121.

Members may miss a crucial vote for many reasons, some unavoidable. Nevertheless, a missed vote because of an absence may affect the ultimate outcome and thus is taken into account in this rating. An asterisk is placed beside the name of any member whose rating reflects three or more absences.

As a public charity, CDF is permitted under the Tax Reform Act of 1976 to spend a small percentage of its budget on legislative activities.

The compilation of these votes was prepared by Legislate, a computerized legislative service, and is based on Legislate's record of the votes.

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Senate Votes: Explanation

Homeless: (H.R. 558) Vote on Senate substitute to bill to authorize programs for the homeless, including transitional housing for homeless families and education assistance for homeless children. Passed 85-12 on April 9, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

FY 1988 Budget Resolution: (S. Con. Res. 49) Vote on Budget Resolution for FY 1988 as recommended by the Budget Committee, allowing spending increases in selected programs for low-income children and families. Passed 56-42 on May 6, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Supplemental funds: (H.R. 1827) Vote on final passage of bill to provide supplemental funds for various programs for FY 1987, including Maternal and Child Health, Foster Care, Work Incentive, and homeless programs. Passed 71-23 on June 2, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Gramm-Rudman change: (H.J. Res. 324) Vote on motion to allow vote on plan to revise Gramm-Rudman deficit targets, reinstate automatic spending cut provisions, and make other changes in the congressional budget process. Rejected 47-49 on July 23, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject.**

Low-income energy assistance: (H.R. 3058) Vote on a motion to waive budget limits in order to restore funding for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP). Rejected 47-50 on October 14, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Children's appropriations: (H.R. 3058) Vote on annual Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriation, providing increased funding for many programs for low-income children and families. Passed 81-15 on October 14, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Bork nomination: Vote on nomination of Robert Bork to the U. S. Supreme Court. Rejected 42-58 on October 23, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject.**

Education programs: (S. 373) Vote on a bill to reauthorize elementary and secondary education programs through 1993, including Chapter 1, magnet schools, and bilingual education, and to establish several new educational initiatives. Passed 97-1 on December 1, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Spending freeze: (S. 1920) Vote on motion to table amendment to the budget reconciliation bill to freeze FY 1988 spending at FY 1987 levels, restrict Social Security inflation adjustment, and delay tax rate reductions. Passed 71-25 on December 10, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Reconciliation: (H.R. 3545) Vote on a conference report to reconciliation bill for FY 1988 to reduce deficit primarily through revenue increases, and including provisions to improve Medicaid coverage for low-income pregnant women and children and to increase the authorization for the Social Services Block Grant (Title XX). Passed 61-28 on December 21, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

House Votes: Explanation

Homeless: (H.R. 558) Vote on bill to authorize $725 million over four years for new aid to the homeless. Passed 264-121 on March 5, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

FY 1988 Budget Resolution: (H.Con.Res. 93) Vote on FY 1988 Budget Resolution as recommended by the Budget Committee, with priority for funding increases for programs for low-income children and families. Passed 230-192 on April 9, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass.**

Education programs: (H.R. 5) Vote on bill to reauthorize federal elementary and secondary school programs through FY 1993, including Chapter

1, and to establish several new educational initiatives. Passed 401-1 on May 21, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

Low-Income housing: (H.R. 4) Vote on bill to authorize $15.9 billion for housing and community development programs in FY 1988. Passed 285-120 on June 11, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

Gramm-Rudman change: (H.J. Res. 324) Vote on motion to instruct House to agree to revised Gramm-Rudman automatic across-the-board spending cut procedures and other changes in congressional budget process. Passed 267-156 on August 4, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject**.

Children's appropriations: (H.R. 3058) Vote on amendment to reduce funding by 2 percent in all discretionary programs in the FY 1988 Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriations bill, including programs for children and families. Rejected 181-245 on August 5, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject**.

Children's appropriations: (H.R. 3058) Vote on FY 1988 Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriations bill providing funding increases for many programs for low-income children and families. Passed 336-89 on August 5, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

Spending freeze: (H.J. Res. 394) Vote on a motion to send the omnibus Continuing Resolution back to committee with instructions to freeze spending at FY 1987 levels for all discretionary programs, including programs for children and families. Rejected 198-220 on December 3, 1987. CDF Position: **Reject**.

Welfare reform: (H.R. 1720) Vote on a bill to reform the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, through expanded education, training, and employment opportunities, supportive services, including child care and transitional assistance, fiscal incentives for benefit improvements, and a mandate of AFDC-UP. Passed 230-194 on December 16, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

FY 1988 Reconciliation: (H.R. 3545) Vote on a conference report to the FY 1988 Budget Reconciliation bill to reduce the deficit primarily through revenue increases, and with provisions to improve Medicaid coverage for low-income pregnant women and children and increase the authorization for the Social Services Block Grant (Title XX). Passed 237-181 on December 21, 1987. CDF Position: **Pass**.

NONPARTISAN VOTING RECORD OF 1987

SENATE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Supplemental Funds	Gramm-Rudman Change	Low-Income Energy Assistance	Children's Appropriations	Bork Nomination	Education Programs	Spending Freeze	Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
ALABAMA											
Heflin	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	70
Shelby	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	70
ALASKA											
Murkowski	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	?	30
Stevens	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
ARIZONA											
DeConcini	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
McCain	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	50
ARKANSAS											
Bumpers	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	70
Pryor	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
CALIFORNIA											
Cranston	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Wilson	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	?	-	40
COLORADO											
Armstrong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
Wirth	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	70
CONNECTICUT											
Dodd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
Weicker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
DELAWARE											
Biden*	?	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	-	+	60
Roth	-	-	?	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	40
FLORIDA											
Chiles	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
Graham	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
GEORGIA											
Fowler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
Nunn	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	80
HAWAII											
Inouye	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Matsunaga	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
IDAHO											
McClure	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	30
Symms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
ILLINOIS											
Dixon	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	70
Simon*	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	?	?	50
INDIANA											
Lugar	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
Quayle	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
IOWA											
Grassley	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	?	50
Harkin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
KANSAS											
Dole	+	-	?	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
*Kassebaum**	-	-	?	-	?	?	-	+	-	+	20
KENTUCKY											
Ford	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
McConnell	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	50
LOUISIANA											
Breaux	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
Johnston	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90

SENATE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Supplemental Funds	Gramm-Rudman Change	Low-Income Energy Assistance	Children's Appropriations	Bork Nomination	Education Programs	Spending Freeze	Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
MAINE											
Cohen	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	60
Mitchell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MARYLAND											
Mikulski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Sarbanes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MASSACHUSETTS											
Kennedy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
Kerry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MICHIGAN											
Levin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	80
Riegle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MINNESOTA											
Boschwitz	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	60
Durenberger	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	60
MISSISSIPPI											
Cochran	?	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
Stennis	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	?	+	+	70
MISSOURI											
Bond	-	-	+	-	-	?	-	+	+	-	30
Danforth	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	60
MONTANA											
Baucus	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	60
Melcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NEBRASKA											
Exon	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	70
Karnes	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
NEVADA											
Hecht	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	40
Reid	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
Humphrey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
Rudman	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	30
NEW JERSEY											
Bradley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Lautenberg	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NEW MEXICO											
Bingaman	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
Domenici	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	60
NEW YORK											
D'Amato	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	60
Moynihan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NORTH CAROLINA											
Helms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
Sanford	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NORTH DAKOTA											
Burdick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	90
Conrad	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	80

KEY: Y (yes) N (no) indicates CDF position for (Y) or against (N) vote. + indicates votes in support of CDF position; - indicates votes in opposition to CDF position; ? = was not present for vote; % = number of times voted for CDF position/total number of votes — absences during voting are computed as a negative vote; * indicates missed three or more votes. Republicans in italics.

SENATE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Supplemental Funds	Gramm-Rudman Change	Low-Income Energy Assistance	Children's Appropriations	Bork Nomination	Education Programs	Spending Freeze	Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
OHIO											
Glenn	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
Metzenbaum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
OKLAHOMA											
Boren	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	?	50
Nickles	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	30
OREGON											
Hatfield	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	70
Packwood	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	60
PENNSYLVANIA											
Heinz	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
Specter	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
RHODE ISLAND											
Chafee	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
Pell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
SOUTH CAROLINA											
Hollings	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	50
Thurmond	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
SOUTH DAKOTA											
Daschle	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	70
Pre[illegible]	+	?	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	50
TENNESSEE											
Gore*	+	?	+	?	?	?	+	+	?	?	40
Sasser	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100

SENATE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Supplemental Funds	Gramm-Rudman Change	Low-Income Energy Assistance	Children's Appropriations	Bork Nomination	Education Programs	Spending Freeze	Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
TEXAS											
Bentsen	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	?	80
Gramm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
UTAH											
Garn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	20
Hatch	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	50
VERMONT											
Leahy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Stafford	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
VIRGINIA											
Trible	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	50
Warner	?	-	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	40
WASHINGTON											
Adams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Evans	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	40
WEST VIRGINIA											
Byrd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Rockefeller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
WISCONSIN											
Kasten	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	40
Proxmire	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	60
WYOMING											
Simpson	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	40
Wallop	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
ALABAMA											
1 *Callahan*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
2 *Dickinson*	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	10
3 Nichols	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	50
4 Bevill	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Flippo	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	80
6 Erdreich	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	70
7 Harris	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	60
ALASKA											
1 *Young, D.*	?	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	40
ARIZONA											
1 *Rhodes*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20
2 Udall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 *Stump*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
4 *Kyl*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
5 *Kolbe*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
ARKANSAS											
1 Alexander	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	80
2 Robinson	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	60
3 *Hammerschmidt*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
4 Anthony	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
CALIFORNIA											
1 Bosco	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	70
2 *Herger*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
3 Matsui	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 Fazio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5 Pelosi	O	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Boxer	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
7 Miller, G.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
8 Dellums	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9 Stark	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
10 Edwards, D.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11 Lantos	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
12 *Konnyu*	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13 Mineta	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100

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NONPARTISAN VOTING RECORD OF 1987

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
14 *Shumway*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
15 Coelho	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
16 Panetta	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
17 *Pashayan*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
18 Lehman, R.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
19 *Lagomarsino*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
20 *Thomas, Wm.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
21 *Gallegly*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
22 *Moorhead*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
23 Beilenson	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
24 Waxman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
25 Roybal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
26 Berman	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
27 Levine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
28 Dixon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
29 Hawkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	90
30 Martinez	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
31 Dymally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
32 Anderson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
33 *Dreier*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
34 Torres	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
35 *Lewis, J.*	-	-	?	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	20
36 Brown, G.	?	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
37 *McCandless*	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
38 *Dornan*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
39 *Dannemeyer*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
40 *Badham**	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	-	?	10
41 *Lowery*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
42 *Lungren*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	10
43 *Packard*	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
44 Bates	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	50
45 *Hunter*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
COLORADO											
1 Schroeder	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
2 Skaggs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Campbell	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	50
4 *Brown, H.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
5 *Hefley*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
6 *Schaefer*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
CONNECTICUT											
1 Kennelly	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
2 Gejdenson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
3 Morrison, B.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 *McKinney*	+	-	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	50
4 *Shays*	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	-	+	-	33
5 *Rowland, J.*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
6 *Johnson, N.*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	60
DELAWARE											
1 Carper	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	70
FLORIDA											
1 Hutto	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	60
2 Grant	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
3 Bennett	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	70
4 Chappell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
5 *McCollum*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
6 MacKay	?	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	+	+	60
7 Gibbons	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
8 *Young, B.*	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	40
9 *Bilirakis*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	30
10 *Ireland*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
11 Nelson	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
12 *Lewis, T.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
13 *Mack*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
14 Mica	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	80
15 *Shaw*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
16 Smith, L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
17 Lehman, Wm.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
18 Pepper*	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	70
19 Fascell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
GEORGIA											
1 Thomas, L.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	80
2 Hatcher	+	+	?	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	70
3 Ray	+	+	?	?	-	+	+	-	-	+	50
4 *Swindall*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
5 Lewis, J.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
6 *Gingrich*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
7 Darden	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	70
8 Rowland, R.	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	70
9 Jenkins	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	80
10 Barnard	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
HAWAII											
1 *Saiki*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	60
2 Akaka	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
IDAHO											
1 *Craig*	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2 Stallings	-	-	+	?	-	-	+	+	-	+	40
ILLINOIS											
1 Hayes, C.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
2 Savage	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	90
3 Russo	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	70
4 *Davis, J.*	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	10
5 Lipinski*	?	+	?	-	-	+	+	+	+	?	50
6 *Hyde*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	30
7 Collins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
8 Rostenkowski	+	+	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
9 Yates	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
10 *Porter*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
11 Annunzio*	?	?	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	60
12 *Crane*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	0
13 *Fawell*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
14 *Hastert*	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	-	-	20
15 *Madigan*	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	40
16 *Martin, L.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
17 Evans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
18 *Michel*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20
19 Bruce	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
20 Durbin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	100
21 Price, M.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
22 Gray, K.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
INDIANA											
1 Visclosky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 Sharp	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	80
3 *Hiler*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
4 *Coats*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
5 Jontz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
6 *Burton*	-	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
7 *Myers*	-	-	+	-		+	+	-	-	-	30
8 McCloskey	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 Hamilton	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	80
10 Jacobs	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	70

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
IOWA											
1 *Leach*	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2 *Tauke*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
3 Nagle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
4 Smith, N.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5 *Lightfoot*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
6 *Grandy*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
KANSAS											
1 *Roberts*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
2 Slattery	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	80
3 *Meyers*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
4 Glickman	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	80
5 *Whittaker*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
KENTUCKY											
1 Hubbard	?	+	+	?	-	-	+	+	+	-	50
2 Natcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 *Bunning*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
5 *Rogers*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	60
6 *Hopkins*	?	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7 Perkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
LOUISIANA											
1 *Livingston**	?	?	?	?	?	+	+	-	-	-	20
2 Boggs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Tauzin*	?	?	+	?	-	+	+	-	+	-	40
4 Roemer*	?	-	?	+	?	?	?	?	?	?	10
5 Huckaby	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	70
6 *Baker*	?	-	?	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10
7 Hayes, J.	+	-	?	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	60
8 *Holloway*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
MAINE											
1 Brennan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
2 *Snowe*	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	50
MARYLAND											
1 Dyson	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	60
2 *Bentley*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	50
3 Cardin	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 McMillen, T.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Hoyer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Byron	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	60
7 Mfume	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
8 *Morella*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
MASSACHUSETTS											
1 *Conte*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
2 Boland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 Frank	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5 Atkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Mavroules	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7 Markey	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
8 Kennedy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9 Moakley	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
10 Studds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11 Donnelly	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
MICHIGAN											
1 Conyers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 *Pursell*	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	60
3 Wolpe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 *Upton*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
5 *Henry*	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	40
6 Carr	+	-	+	?	+	+	+	-	-	-	50
7 Kildee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
8 Traxler	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 *Vander Jagt*	-	-	?	?	-	-	+	-	-	-	10
10 *Schuette*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	50
11 *Davis, R.*	+	-	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	70
12 Bonior	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
13 Crockett	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
14 Hertel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
15 Ford, Wm	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	100
16 Dingell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
17 Levin	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
18 *Broomfield*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
MINNESOTA											
1 Penny	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	50
2 *Weber*	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	30
3 *Frenzel*	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
4 Vento	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5 Sabo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Sikorski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7 *Stangeland*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	40
8 Oberstar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MISSISSIPPI											
1 Whitten	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
2 Espy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Montgomery	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	60
4 Dowdy*	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	?	?	50
5 *Lott*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	-	+	20
MISSOURI											
1 Clay	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
2 *Buechner*	?	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
3 Gephardt*	?	+	?	?	-	?	?	?	?	?	10
4 Skelton	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	80
5 Wheat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 *Coleman, T.*	?	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
7 *Taylor*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
8 *Emerson*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
9 Volkmer	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
MONTANA											
1 Williams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
2 *Marlenee*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
NEBRASKA											
1 *Bereuter*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
2 *Daub*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
3 *Smith, V.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
NEVADA											
1 Bilbray	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	70
2 *Vucanovich*	-	?	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
1 *Smith, R.C.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2 *Gregg*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
NEW JERSEY											
1 Florio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 Hughes	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	90
3 Howard	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
4 *Smith, C.*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	70
5 *Roukema*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	40
6 Dwyer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 *Rinaldo*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	60
8 Roe	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 Torricelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
10 Rodino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11 *Gallo*	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	40
12 *Courter*	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	40
13 *Saxton*	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	40
14 Guarini	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
NEW MEXICO											
1 *Lujan*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
2 *Skeen*	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	40
3 Richardson	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
NEW YORK											
1 Hochbrueckner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 Downey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Mrazek	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 *Lent*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	30
5 *McGrath*	?	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	30
6 Flake	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7 Ackerman	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
8 Scheuer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9 Manton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
10 Schumer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11 Towns	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
12 Owens	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
13 Solarz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	90
14 *Molinari*	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
15 *Green*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	70
16 Rangel	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	90
17 Weiss	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
18 Garcia	+	?	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
19 Biaggi*	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	60
20 *DioGuardi*	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	40
21 *Fish*	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	50
22 *Gilman*	+	-	+	+	-	+	?	-	+	-	50
23 Stratton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
24 *Solomon*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
25 *Boehlert*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	70
26 *Martin, D.*	+	-	+	?	-	-	+	-	-	+	40
27 *Wortley*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	40
28 McHugh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
29 *Horton*	?	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	60
30 Slaughter, L.	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	60
31 *Kemp**	-	?	?	?	?	-	-	?	?	-	0
32 LaFalce	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
33 Nowak	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
34 *Houghton*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	40
NORTH CAROLINA											
1 Jones, W.	+	+	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	?	70
2 Valentine	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
3 Lancaster	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	80
4 Price, D.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Neal	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	70
6 *Coble*	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
7 Rose	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	?	80
8 Hefner	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 *McMillan, A.*	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
10 *Ballenger*	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
11 Clarke	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	?	+	80
NORTH DAKOTA											
1 Dorgan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	90

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
OHIO											
1 Luken, T.	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
2 *Gradison*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
3 Hall, T.	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	+	70
4 *Oxley*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
5 *Latta*	-	-	+	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	10
6 *McEwen*	?	-	+	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	20
7 *Dewine*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
8 *Lukens, D.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
9 Kaptur	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
10 *Miller, C.*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
11 Eckart	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
12 *Kasich*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
13 Pease	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
14 Sawyer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
15 *Wylie*	?	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	30
16 *Regula*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
17 Traficant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
18 Applegate	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	70
19 Feighan	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
20 Oakar	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
21 Stokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
OKLAHOMA											
1 *Inhofe*	?	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2 Synar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Watkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
4 McCurdy	+	+	?	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	70
5 *Edwards, M.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
6 English	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
OREGON											
1 AuCoin	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	70
2 *Smith, R.F.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
3 Wyden	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 DeFazio	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	70
5 Smith, D.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
PENNSYLVANIA											
1 Foglietta	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 Gray, Wm.	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
3 Borski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 Kolter	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
5 *Schulze*	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
6 Yatron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7 *Weldon*	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	50
8 Kostmayer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9 *Shuster*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
10 *McDade*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	60
11 Kanjorski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
12 Murtha	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
13 *Coughlin*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	60
14 Coyne	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
15 *Ritter*	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
16 *Walker*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
17 *Gekas*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
18 Walgren	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
19 *Goodling*	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	50
20 Gaydos	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
21 *Ridge*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	40
22 Murphy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
23 *Clinger*	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	50
RHODE ISLAND											
1 St. Germain	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
2 *Schneider*	?	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	50

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
SOUTH CAROLINA											
1 *Ravenel*	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	50
2 *Spence*	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
3 Derrick	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 Patterson	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	60
5 Spratt	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	80
6 Tallon	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	-	+	-	70
SOUTH DAKOTA											
1 Johnson, T.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	60
TENNESSEE											
1 *Quillen*	?	-	+	?	-	+	+	-	-	+	40
2 *Duncan*	-	-	?	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
3 Lloyd*	?	?	?	+	?	+	+	?	-	+	40
4 Cooper	?	+	?	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	50
5 Boner*	+	+	?	?	?	?	?	O	O	O	29
6 Gordon	?	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	+	+	60
7 *Sundquist*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
8 Jones, E.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9 Ford, H.	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	80
TEXAS											
1 Chapman	?	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	50
2 Wilson	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	?	+	80
3 *Bartlett*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
4 Hall, R.	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
5 Bryant	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
6 *Barton*	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
7 *Archer*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
8 *Fields*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
9 Brooks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
10 Pickle	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
11 Leath	?	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	40
12 Wright**											
13 *Boulter*	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
14 *Sweeney*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
15 de la Garza	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
16 Coleman, R.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
17 Stenholm	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	40
18 Leland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
19 *Combest*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
20 Gonzalez	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
21 *Smith, L.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
22 *DeLay*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
23 Bustamante	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
24 Frost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
25 Andrews	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	80
26 *Armey*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
27 Ortiz	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
UTAH											
1 *Hansen*	?	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2 Owens, W.	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	80
3 *Nielson*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10

HOUSE	Homeless	FY 1988 Budget Resolution	Education Programs	Low-Income Housing	Gramm-Rudman Change	Children's Appropriations	Children's Appropriations	Spending Freeze	Welfare Reform	FY 1988 Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
VERMONT											
1 *Jeffords*	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	70
VIRGINIA											
1 *Bateman*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	30
2 Pickett	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	80
3 *Bliley*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	30
4 Sisisky	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Daniel*	-	?	+	-	?	?	?	+	-	?	20
6 Olin	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
7 *Slaughter, D.*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	30
8 *Parris*	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	40
9 Boucher	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
10 *Wolf*	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	60
WASHINGTON											
1 *Miller, J.*	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	30
2 Swift	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Bonker	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
4 Morrison, S.	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	70
5 Foley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Dicks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7 Lowry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	90
8 *Chandler*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
WEST VIRGINIA											
1 Mollohan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 Staggers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Wise	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 Rahall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
WISCONSIN											
1 Aspin	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	90
2 Kastenmeier	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
3 *Gunderson*	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
4 Kleczka	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
5 Moody	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	90
6 *Petri*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20
7 Obey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
8 *Roth*	-	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
9 *Sensenbrenner*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
WYOMING											
1 *Cheney*	?	0-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20

Members may miss a crucial vote for many reasons, some unavoidable. Nevertheless, a missed vote because of an absence may affect the ultimate outcome and thus is taken into account in this rating. An asterisk is placed beside the name of any member whose rating reflects three or more absences.

As a public charity, CDF is permitted under the Tax Reform Act of 1976 to spend a small percentage of its budget on legislative activities.

The compilation of these votes was prepared by Legislate, a computerized legislative service, and is based on Legislate's record of the votes.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Health

Adequate health care yields major and long-term benefits to our children and to society.

- Babies born to mothers who do not receive comprehensive maternity care are three times more likely to die in the first year of life than those born to mothers who receive such care.
- Use of publicly funded family planning services by low-income women has been cited as the second most important factor in the 55 percent decline in neonatal infant mortality (deaths in the first twenty-eight days of life) among nonwhite infants between 1970 and 1984.
- Every $1.00 spent to immunize children saves $10 in other costs to the society.
- For every $1.00 spent on maternity care for a pregnant woman, we save more than $3.00 in costs to society during infancy alone by reducing the need for expensive hospital care, and $11 over the child's lifetime by avoiding the medical, social, and educational costs associated with preventable lifelong disabilities.

Our nation's recent lack of progress on important health indicators reveals the inadequacy of our health system. On many maternal and child health indicators we have stopped making progress or slipped backward.

- In 1985, following several years of slowing progress in reducing the infant mortality rate (deaths in the first year of life), the national rate of decline ground to a halt.
- The neonatal mortality rate (deaths in the first twenty-eight days of life) failed to improve in 1985 for the first time since 1960.
- This overall lack of progress masked an even more troubling 3 percent nationwide increase in neonatal mortality among black infants. While

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(Note: The Administration's proposals for FY 1989 in each area appear at the end of this chapter.)

infant death rates attributable to unpreventable causes were virtually identical for black and white infants in 1985, black infants suffered much higher rates of mortality from conditions considered preventable or probably preventable.

- The black-white infant death ratio increased from 1.43 to 1 in 1950 to 1.98 to 1 in 1985.
- In 1985 the United States' infant mortality rate placed it nineteenth in the world, behind less affluent countries such as Finland, Spain, and Singapore.
- The incidence of low-birthweight births and premature births both rose in 1985.
- Between 1983 and 1985, black and nonwhite maternal mortality rose by 11 percent and 10 percent, respectively, while white maternal mortality declined by 12 percent.
- Between 1984 and 1985, the percentage of all women who received early prenatal care (beginning in the first trimester) declined, and the percentage receiving no care or care only in the last trimester rose for the fourth time since 1980.

The rate of immunization of our nation's children against preventable diseases generally declined between 1980 and 1985, inviting outbreaks of a range of diseases.

- Between 1980 and 1985, the percentage of American children ages one to four who had received no polio vaccine at all climbed from 2.5 to 3.6 percent. Among nonwhite children, this figure nearly doubled, from 5.4 to 9.7 percent. Among all infants younger than a year old, 20.4 percent were not fully immunized against polio in 1985; the figure was 41.5 percent for nonwhite infants.

Because of these trends, the nation will fail to achieve many of the Surgeon General's key goals for 1990 regarding maternal and infant health and childhood immunization.

More than half of all teens are sexually active today, putting them at risk of a number of adverse health outcomes.

- In 1986 about 216,000 cases of gonorrhea (one-quarter of all reported gonorrhea cases) were reported among teens ages fifteen through nineteen.
- Because AIDS symptoms often take several years to appear, many of the more than 2,700 adults in their twenties who were reported to have AIDS in 1986 probably became infected with HIV (the virus that causes AIDS) as teenagers. Indications are that in some areas of the country as many as eight of every 1,000 young adults are testing positively for the virus.
- Each year 1 million American teens become pregnant—one of every eleven women age fifteen through nineteen, and one of every four sexually active women in that age group. While American teens are no more likely to be sexually active than teens in Great Britain, France, or Canada, their pregnancy rate is twice as high as the rates found in those countries.

Millions of American families cannot gain access to the health insurance and medical care they need. The shift in jobs from the manufacturing to the service sector and the growing number of employers failing to provide insurance have increased the numbers of uninsured persons dramatically.

- Between 1982 and 1985, the number of uninsured Americans grew by 15 percent (from 30.3 million to 34.8 million), and the number of uninsured children grew by 16 percent (from 9.6 million to 11.1 million).
- Many employers with low wage scales do not provide insurance. In 1985, 70 percent of the uninsured were full-time, full-year workers or their spouses or children.

Low-income adults and children are the groups least likely to be privately insured or adequately insured.

- In 1985 two-thirds of uninsured persons and three-quarters of uninsured children had family incomes less than 200 percent of the federal poverty level.
- Poor children from working families are twice as likely to be uninsured as non-poor children.
- Gaps in coverage and high deductibles and coinsurance payments deter utilization of medical care by poor families. A privately insured poor child is 1.5 times less likely than a poor child whose health care is paid for through Medicaid to receive preventive health care during the year.

The uninsured must turn for health care help to a patchwork of programs that currently do not have sufficient funds to reach even a majority of families and children who need them.

- The percentage of poor children covered by Medicaid has fallen dramatically in the past decade, from 66 percent in 1976 to 49 percent by 1986.
- The Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant, Family Planning, and Migrant Health Center programs all are operating at funding levels below the amounts needed to maintain their services at 1981 levels.
- Inadequate immunization funding means that our nation is able to vaccinate fewer and fewer children. Each year in the 1981-1986 period fewer doses were administered in the public sector than in each year from 1978 to 1980. The 1986 total is estimated to be only 80 percent of the doses delivered in 1979.

Although not adequately funded to reach all in need, public health programs have been remarkably effective in serving needy Americans.

- In 1963, prior to the creation of such programs as Medicaid and Community Health Centers and the expansion of maternal and child health services under Title V, only 63 percent of pregnant women in America began prenatal care during the first trimester of pregnancy. By 1979 that figure had grown to 76 percent. The nation's rate of low-birthweight births, which had been rising, fell significantly from 1965 to 1980.
- The death rate among black infants dropped only 5 percent in the fifteen years before Medicaid, but it plummeted by more than 50 percent in the fifteen years that followed.

- Through the immunization program, smallpox has been eradicated and the incidence of such fatal and crippling diseases as diphtheria, pertussis, congenital rubella, measles, mumps, and polio has been reduced drastically.

Improvements in Medicaid policy have occurred within the past several years but they must be broadened. The nation needs a new schedule of maternal and child health goals—and a reinvigorated commitment to accomplish those goals. CDF recommends:

- Through changes in federal and state law, all states should provide Medicaid coverage to all pregnant women and children younger than eighteen with family incomes below the poverty line.
- Every state should have a Medicaid program that permits otherwise uninsured families with children to purchase public health insurance coverage on a sliding fee basis when their income is more than 100 percent but less than 200 percent of the federal poverty level.
- No medically underserved area of the country should be without community and migrant health centers and specialized maternity and pediatric health service delivery programs.
- Congress must approve policies and budgets that can assure the provision of childhood immunizations. The immunization surveillance system dropped by the Reagan Administration must be restored immediately or replaced by a comparable and improved annual survey.
- The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) should be funded sufficiently so that every eligible pregnant woman, infant, and child is served.

Family Income

In this affluent nation, millions of children are growing up in households that cannot afford to provide them basic necessities. In 1986 over 12 million children—more than one out of every five American children—were poor. In 1979, by contrast, fewer than 10 million children were poor. Child poverty is not just a spreading problem, it is a rapidly deepening one.

- More than 5 million poor children in 1985 lived in families whose incomes were less than half the bare bones subsistence level defined by the federal poverty line, up from fewer than 3.5 million living below one-half that level in 1979.

The economic recovery has begun to lift some families out of poverty, but the improvement has been so slow that, at our current rate of progress, it would take seven more years of recovery to reduce child poverty rates even to their unacceptably high levels of 1979.

America's families today face an increasingly difficult struggle to earn a decent living.

- The number of working people whose earnings left them in poverty grew 36 percent from 1979 to 1986.
- After decades of rising earnings among families, progress has ground to a halt. The median income of all families in 1986 was $29,458, slightly less than the 1973 level in real (inflation-adjusted) dollars.

- This small decline in family incomes hides the fact that average earnings for individual workers have fallen faster, so that more than one parent must now work to maintain family income at a level comparable with that one or two decades ago. For example, the average earnings of American men who work full time during the entire year declined 8.5 percent between 1973 and 1986.
- Low-income Americans and young families are among those losing ground the fastest. The poorest 20 percent of households received only a 3.8 percent share of all income in the United States in 1986, down from 4.1 percent in 1970. The gap between the rich and the poor is now wider than at any time since the Census Bureau began collecting such data in 1947. And while real median family income for households headed by individuals older than forty-five rose between 1973 and 1986, that of young families (headed by individuals younger than twenty-five) fell by nearly one-fourth.

The worsening income status of young families is linked to declines in the real earnings of young men and continued very low earnings of young women.

- Average annual earnings for twenty- to twenty-four-year-old males fell by more than 25 percent between 1973 and 1986, and earnings losses for male high school dropouts exceeded 40 percent.

There are two major causes for falling real wages.

- The first is the failure of Congress and the Reagan Administration to adjust the federal minimum wage to keep pace with inflation. As recently as 1979, earnings from full-time, year-round work at the minimum wage were sufficient to lift a family of three above the poverty line. But because the minimum wage has not been increased from the $3.35 per hour level it was when President Reagan took office, such a minimum wage job in 1988 provides earnings that are less than three-fourths of what is needed to bring a three-person household out of poverty. In 1979, 2.8 million hourly workers in the United States earned hourly wages less than the amount necessary to support a spouse and one child above the poverty line through full-time, year-round work. By 1986 that number had risen to nearly 15 million workers.
- Second, structural changes in the economy have accelerated the shift toward low-wage employment. Since 1979 more than three-fourths of all new jobs have been created in wholesale or retail trades and the service sector, while the nation has lost 2 million manufacturing jobs. The average retail job pays less than half as much as the average manufacturing job.

The final threat to adequate family incomes through work is the persistent joblessness that plagues substantial segments of our society.

- In December 1987, 7 million Americans were officially unemployed—seeking work but unable to find jobs. More than 5 million others had been forced to accept part-time work because full-time employment was not available, and nearly 1 million more had stopped looking for work because their job prospects were too bleak.

- The recent rate of growth in jobs has been relatively weak by historical standards. From the end of the recession through December 1987, jobs have been added to the U.S. economy at a rate 29 percent less than in the expansion period following the 1974-1975 recession. Moreover, an unusually high proportion of the new jobs that have been created are only part time.

Our nation's child support system has yet to fulfill its responsibility to help provide children the incomes they need.

- As of the spring of 1986, 8.8 million mothers were living with children younger than twenty-one whose fathers were absent from the home. Sixty-one percent (5.4 million) of these women had been awarded child support payments, but many actually received none. Of those with awards in 1985, only about one-half received the full amount due. One-quarter received only partial payment. One-quarter received nothing.
- Child support payments often are not enough to lift a family out of poverty. The mean child support payment received in 1985 by women with one child was $1,679 per year (or about $140 per month). In 1985 a family of three needed $8,573 to reach the federal poverty level; a child's subsistence level of one-third that amount would have been $2,857.

Many of the problems in collecting child support stem from the past failure of many states and the federal government to protect children's rights by aggressively pursuing support from absent fathers. State efforts to comply with the 1984 federal law creating child support enforcement improvements have been spotty.

Poor children desperately need a safety net. But AFDC, the largest program of cash assistance for poor families with children, does not even reach millions of poor children whose family incomes through work and child support are inadequate to meet their needs. Families that do qualify for assistance do not receive enough to live in dignity, health, and safety.

- Each state sets its own AFDC benefit levels, which do not have to be adjusted for inflation. The real value of the median state AFDC monthly benefit for a family of four fell more than one-third from July 1970 to July 1987.
- AFDC payments for a family of three were less than one-half the federal poverty level in twenty-eight states in July 1987.
- The maximum AFDC grant plus the maximum value of food stamps in July 1987 still left a family of three below the 1986 federal poverty line—and usually far below that line—in every state except Alaska and California.

Further, because of arbitrary restrictions on program eligibility, several large groups of very poor Americans are denied even such modest help from AFDC.

- The basic AFDC program is limited primarily to single-parent families. States have a federal option to provide AFDC help also to children in two-parent families who are in need because the principal earner is either unemployed or underemployed (AFDC-UP), but twenty-four states have not chosen that option. Even where this option is in force, AFDC for two-parent families is limited to those in which the principal earner works less than 100 hours a month, although 100 hours of work at the minimum wage would leave a family destitute.

- The limitations of AFDC for poor two-parent families foster family break-ups and deter increased work efforts. When Iowa discontinued its AFDC-UP program in April 1981, 3,929 families were receiving AFDC-UP benefits. Six months later, 1,305 of these families had returned to the rolls as regular AFDC families, most of them newly eligible because the father had left the home after AFDC-UP benefits were cut off. Iowa has since reinstated AFDC-UP benefits.
- Because federal law allows states other options to make arbitrary choices, basic subsistence benefits are denied in some states to families that need emergency help, to poor women who are pregnant for the first time, or to eighteen-year-olds still living at home and still attending high school.

In the 1980s poor households also have lost much-needed help in defraying high energy costs. Funding for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), a needs-based program to help the poor meet their energy costs and an important supplement to other federal income maintenance programs, has been subjected to repeated budget cuts. Program funding was cut 16 percent in FY 1988 alone by Congress and the Reagan Administration.

Effective strategies for helping AFDC recipients move into stable employment at adequate wages must address three root causes of poverty and dependency: education-related barriers; lack of access to key supports like appropriate child care and affordable health insurance; and the dearth of full-time jobs at wages adequate to support a family.

- Three-fifths of all adults on AFDC have not completed high school. The majority of adults subject to AFDC work requirements in 1983 had reading and math skills below the eighth- or ninth-grade level, which placed many entry-level jobs beyond their reach
- Among all AFDC households, single women head nearly 90 percent, and fully three-fifths of their households include children younger than six. An AFDC mother cannot responsibly seek paid employment unless she knows that her children will receive appropriate day care and will continue to have access to health coverage after the family leaves the welfare rolls.

Until recently, work and training programs for AFDC recipients under the federal Work Incentive (WIN) program rarely addressed these barriers.

- State-commissioned studies in Connecticut, Florida, and Georgia found that low-cost "workfare" programs squander taxpayers' money, with costs two to six times greater than any resulting benefits.

During the past several years, a few states have recognized that a more comprehensive approach is needed to reduce long-term reliance upon AFDC.

- Massachusetts' voluntary Education and Training (ET): Choices program has combined remedial education, vocational skills training, and job placement assistance with major investments in child care and Medicaid coverage for a transition period after participants leave welfare. ET's comprehensive approach has helped 45,000 volunteers move into jobs at an average hourly salary of $6.60.

Despite the need for a federal-state partnership in this area, the Reagan Administration and Congress have sharply reduced federal investments in education, training, and employment opportunities and support for AFDC recipients since 1981.

- WIN funding has been slashed by three-fourths during the 1980s (from $365 million in FY 1981 to $93 million in FY 1988).
- Changes approved in 1981 and amended in 1984 significantly reduced AFDC recipients' financial incentives to seek low-wage employment. Before 1981 an AFDC-eligible parent could expect to have the first $30 of monthly earnings, plus one-third of remaining earnings, disregarded in calculating his or her AFDC grant and eligibility status. Now these disregards are limited in duration and diluted in impact as well. Many poor working families are barred from receiving even partial assistance.

An effective national effort to address the root causes of widespread child poverty requires progress on a number of fronts.

- Family incomes from work must be bolstered. As an initial step, it is essential to adjust the federal minimum wage in 1988 to begin to regain the ground lost since 1979 and to ensure that a full-time minimum wage job will never again provide even a small family only a sub-poverty level income. The current minimum wage of $3.35 an hour should be raised immediately to $3.85, increased in subsequent years until it equals the 1979 value in inflation-adjusted dollars, and thereafter adjusted annually for inflation.
- In economically depressed regions and impoverished neighborhoods, federal job-creation efforts are essential to stimulate economic development and support much-needed community improvement projects.
- The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services must pursue vigorously the full implementation of the 1984 Child Support Enforcement Amendments. Congress must also address major problems that have been identified in implementation of the 1984 amendments.
- States must be required to phase in AFDC increases so that benefits, when combined with food stamps, would reach a minimum of 75 percent of the poverty level by 1992 and then climb to 100 percent in ensuing years, with cost of living increases to maintain that level. All poor families in need, regardless of their family structure, should be eligible for such assistance. As the first step toward this goal, all states should be required to provide AFDC to two-parent families that are in need due to unemployment.
- The Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) should be restored to its FY 1987 funding level of $1.8 billion, and steps should be taken to phase in coverage of all eligible households.
- The AFDC program must be restructured to provide greater help to parents who want to find employment but who need intensive education, skills training, child care, and other supportive services in order to do so.
- The many disincentives to employment faced by AFDC recipients must be removed. Current time limitations on the earned income disregard should be eliminated, and the disregard expanded and applied to both participants' initial eligibility and subsequent benefit determinations.

Homelessness and Housing

Recent estimates of the total number of homeless Americans range from 350,000 to 3 million. Working from current reports that one-third of homeless Americans are members of families with children, anywhere between 100,000 and 1 million members of families are homeless. An estimated one-half of that group—or between 50,000 and 500,000—are children. Also among the ranks of America's homeless are some 1 million children and adolescents not with their families.

- Nationwide, members of families with children represent more than one-third of all homeless people, according to a December 1987 report by the U.S. Conference of Mayors. In some cities the proportion is much higher: in Trenton, New Jersey, 50 percent of the homeless are members of families with children. In New York City, the 12,000 children in shelters in September 1987 outnumbered the single men and women in shelters.
- Although emergency shelter services have been expanded significantly, 71 percent of the cities surveyed by the Conference of Mayors in late 1987 reported that services for families with children were facing the most severe overload. In the District of Columbia, officials reported that the number of families seeking shelter jumped 500 percent during 1986 alone.

Homelessness leaves permanent scars on children and families.

- A 1987 study of 400 pregnant women in welfare hotels in New York City found that more than 39 percent had received no prenatal care—more than four times the rate for city residents in general. The infant mortality rate among babies born to homeless women was a startling twenty-five deaths per 1,000 live births, compared with twelve per 1,000 city-wide.
- An evaluation of the Johnson-Pew Health Care for the Homeless program found homeless children are twice as likely to suffer from chronic health problems such as cardiac disease, anemia, and vascular disorders as other children their age.
- Homelessness often interrupts or hampers a child's education. A 1986 Child Welfare League study found that 43 percent of school-aged homeless children interviewed by Travelers Aid Societies in a number of cities were not attending school at all.
- Nineteen percent of the homeless children in a 1987 study conducted by the Colorado Children's Campaign were reported by their parents to have developed learning disabilities as a result of the experience of homelessness.
- Teachers report that homeless children in school are often stigmatized and taunted by other children.
- Homelessness can lead to temporary or permanent family break-up through placement of children in foster care. In New Jersey one recent report listed housing problems and homelessness as the reason for placement of about 40 percent of the foster care cases examined.

The rapid increase of homelessness among families can be attributed to several simultaneous trends: falling family incomes, a shrinking supply of affordable housing, and cuts in federal assistance.

- One study found that households with annual incomes between $5,000 and $10,000 averaged rent increases of almost 10 percent more than inflation between 1974 and 1983, compared with a 2 percent increase for households with annual incomes between $20,000 and $30,000.
- In 1983, according to the National Low Income Housing Coalition, 18 percent of all renters were paying more than 60 percent (twice the recommended maximum proportion) of their incomes for rent and utilities. Eighty-six percent of the renters with annual incomes of less than $5,000 were paying this dangerously high portion of their incomes for housing.
- A nationwide 1986 study by the Low Income Housing Information Service found a huge gap between the number of low-income renters and the number of affordable, available housing units: 4 million units vacant and renting at affordable prices for the 8 million low-income renters who needed them. This represents a 120 percent increase in the shortfall since 1980.

The crisis in low-income housing has been caused substantially by the federal government's retreat from providing housing help to the poor.

- Federal funds for low-income housing programs have fallen by almost 70 percent since 1981.
- Only about 27 percent of poor renters receive any kind of federal housing assistance. Among welfare recipients, only 22 percent are estimated to receive such assistance.
- In Chicago the wait for a federally supported Section 8 housing certificate is ten years. Many cities have closed their waiting lists because they are so long.
- In virtually every city low-income families now wait years to move into public housing units. In many the number of people on the waiting list exceeds the total number of public units that exist. Many cities have closed their waiting lists for public housing because existing lists already entail waits of five or ten years.

The growing crisis of homelessness among low-income families requires not only short-term and emergency remedies but a long-term recommitment to the goal of decent housing for all American families. To prevent homelessness and assure adequate assistance for families that do become homeless, our nation must:

- Ensure an adequate supply of decent and affordable housing for low-income families by providing sufficient funds to maintain and repair existing units and construct new units as necessary.
- Ensure that families can afford available housing by providing housing assistance to all low-income families that need it, and by increasing the minimum wage and AFDC grants.
- Amend federal fair housing laws to prohibit discrimination against families with children.

- Prevent homelessness and the damage it can cause by providing emergency assistance (including cash help to cover rent or mortgage costs) to families in crisis.
- Ensure appropriate services for families that do become homeless, especially help in finding and securing permanent housing as quickly as possible, adequate shelter space for families with children, and referrals to crucial services such as health care.

Food Assistance

After a decade of progress in reducing hunger and malnutrition in America, these problems intensified in the 1980s. They are taking a heavy toll on the most vulnerable among us: our children.

- In 1984 President Reagan's own Task Force on Food Assistance declared that hunger is now "a significant problem throughout our nation."
- The Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, coordinated through the Harvard University School of Public Health, estimated in 1985 that many millions of Americans experience hunger at some point each month, and that malnutrition affects almost 500,000 American children. In a 1987 update, the Task Force found that in many regions of the country low-income working Americans are having to turn to bread lines and soup kitchens to feed themselves and their children.
- The U.S. Conference of Mayors found that requests for emergency food assistance increased in 1987 by an average of 18 percent in twenty-four of twenty-six major U.S. cities surveyed. Twenty-five of the twenty-six cities also reported a substantial rise (averaging 18 percent) in the number of families with children requesting assistance. Such families made up two-thirds of those requesting emergency food assistance.

Rising poverty, falling parental earnings, and reductions in government welfare, housing, and unemployment benefits have contributed substantially to the spread of hunger in America. One of every five American children is poor and more than 40 percent of those children live in families with incomes less than one-half of the poverty line.

Our nation's persistent hunger problem is having a lasting and harmful impact on the health of our children.

- One health outcome related to inadequate nutrition is low birthweight among infants—a leading cause of infant death and autism, retardation, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, learning disabilities, and vision and hearing disabilities. The percentage of American infants born at very low birthweight (weighing less than 3.5 pounds at birth) rose in 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, and 1985 (the last year for which data are available).
- One-quarter of families with children surveyed in a low-income neighborhood of New Haven, Connecticut, in the summer of 1986 either were experiencing chronic food shortages or were at risk of this problem. Children in families chronically short of food suffered from twice as many instances of health problems as children from families not experiencing such shortages during the preceding six months.

Federal food programs have proven their effectiveness in fighting hunger and protecting health.

- Every ten to fifteen years, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) conducts a nationwide survey of household food consumption patterns that provides an abundance of data on the nutritional status of Americans. Between 1965 (when one survey was conducted) and 1977-1978 (when the most recent survey was conducted), the nutritional gap between low-income Americans and the rest of the population narrowed significantly. This was the same period during which federal food programs were created or expanded.
- The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) has been found to have a major impact on reducing the incidence of low-birthweight births, late fetal deaths, and premature births, on increasing the proportion of poor pregnant women seeking prenatal care and the head circumference of infants born to participating women, and on improving the diets of participating women, infants, and children.

During the Reagan Administration's tenure, however, food programs have lost ground due to cutbacks.

- According to a Congressional Budget Office analysis, funding for food stamps was cut $6.8 billion from FY 1982 through FY 1985, including $1.9 billion in FY 1985 alone. As a result, several hundred thousand recipients have been pushed out of the program, and the benefits of about 15 million other recipients are lower. While modest restorations in the food stamp program enacted by Congress in 1985 and 1987 (amounting to about $200 million a year) somewhat alleviated this harm, the bulk of the cuts remains in place.
- Between 1980 and 1986 the number of persons below the poverty line jumped from 29.3 million to 32.4 million. During this period, when 3 million persons were added to the ranks of the poor, however, food stamp participation actually fell—from 19.8 million to 19.4 million. As a result, the ratio of people receiving food stamps for every 100 persons below the poverty line fell from sixty-eight in 1980 to sixty in 1986, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.
- Federal food stamp outreach efforts have been eliminated and food stamps now fail to reach roughly one-third (10 million to 13 million Americans) of those who are eligible.
- Food stamp benefit levels are based on USDA's "thrifty food plan" although USDA studies show that five out of six families whose food expenditures equal that bare bones plan fail to obtain the Recommended Daily Allowance for basic nutrients.
- The government's five nutritional programs that exclusively serve children—the school lunch, school breakfast, child care food, summer food, and special milk programs—were reduced by 29 percent from FY 1982 to FY 1985—$5 billion during the four-year period. Legislation enacted in October 1986 did include some modest improvements in a few child nutrition programs, particularly the school breakfast and special milk programs. However, these increases totaled just 2 percent of the annual amount by which the child nutrition programs were cut in

1981. As a result of the deep reductions in 1981, the number of children receiving school lunches each day fell by about 2 million, after adjusting for changes in school enrollment.

- Two emergency food assistance programs that were instituted in the 1980s to cope with our nation's hunger problem are facing cutbacks in 1988. USDA has announced that, due to declining government stocks of surplus cheese, nonfat dry milk, rice, and honey, the amounts it will distribute this year will be cut in half from the amounts it distributed last year, with a possible halt in distribution. Further, the appropriation for the emergency food and shelter program—much of which is used by local charities to purchase food for the needy—has been cut from $125 million in FY 1987 to $114 million in FY 1988.

Although Congress has provided for growth in WIC (despite several Administration attempts to hold back some or all of these funds), the program still reaches only 3.4 million people, or less than one-half of nutritionally at-risk pregnant women, infants, and children who are eligible.

Congress must take these immediate steps to deal with hunger in our nation:

- Raise the appropriations levels for the WIC and Commodity Supplemental Food programs so that all eligible low-income women, infants, and children can be served.
- Base food stamp benefit levels on the current cost of USDA's thrifty food plan, rather than on the cost of the thrifty food plan for a period in the past.
- Reinstate the food stamp outreach program to inform low-income persons about their potential eligibility.
- Incorporate into the food stamp program a provision (comparable to that in the AFDC program) under which the first $50 of monthly income from child support is disregarded in computing benefits.
- Raise the food stamp assets limits.
- Allow charitable nonprofit organizations to operate modest summer food programs for poor children in summer months when school is out.

Education

Today a good education is more important than ever before to a young person's employment prospects. As agricultural, blue collar, and manufacturing employment continues to decline and the white collar and service sectors grow, a high school diploma is more and more a minimum prerequisite to economic survival.

- In 1984 twenty-five- to sixty-five-year-old men who had not finished high school earned only 78 percent of the average earnings of high school graduates and about 56 percent of the average of those who had attended at least some college.
- According to the U.S. Department of Labor, more than half of the new jobs created in the 1984-2000 period will require some education beyond high school, and almost all of these will be filled by college graduates.

According to the U.S. Department of Education's High School and Beyond study, 16.4 percent of all students who were sophomores in 1980 did not graduate from high school two years later.

- Poor children, regardless of race, are three times as likely as more affluent children to drop out. Poverty, not race, is the key predictor of dropping out. Because minority students are more likely to be poor, however, they are more likely to drop out. Although black and Hispanic students have narrowed the scholastic achievement gap between themselves and their non-minority peers, the gap remains sizable. For example, the average reading proficiency level of minority seventeen-year-olds was only slightly better than that of white thirteen-year-olds.
- Youths who by age eighteen have the weakest basic academic skills, when compared with those with above-average skills, are eight times more likely to bear children out of wedlock, nine times more likely to drop out of high school, and five times more likely to be both out of work and out of school.

Schools often perpetuate rather than compensate for poor students' disadvantages.

- The resources a school can devote to teaching children vary widely from state to state and district to district. New Jersey spends nearly three times per pupil what Alabama spends, and within New Jersey, which has attempted to compensate for local variations, per pupil expenditures still ranged from a low of $3,540 per pupil in a poor district to $7,642 per pupil in a wealthy district.
- The level of segregation of black students remained virtually unchanged between 1972 and 1984, with nearly two-thirds of blacks attending predominantly minority schools.

Schools can make a substantial difference in the difficult odds facing poor and minority children. Repeated studies and demonstrations prove that, given timely and effective schooling, disadvantaged youngsters can perform as well as their peers. Successful practices include early education interventions, effective school leadership, summer classes, and combining high expectations for student performance with tutoring and parent training and involvement.

But the federal government has been decreasing its commitment to successful programs that help disadvantaged young people learn. The federal share of elementary and secondary school spending fell from 9.2 percent in 1979-1980 to 6.7 percent in 1986-1987. Poor and minority children have suffered as a result, since federal spending on education is better targeted on them than is state and local spending.

- The Chapter 1 Compensatory Education program supports remedial education for low-income students, demonstrably improving their reading and math skills. It was funded at $3.5 billion in FY 1981. A large cut in FY 1982 was followed by some funding increases, but the FY 1988 appropriation of $4.328 billion is actually almost $200 million less in inflation-adjusted dollars than the FY 1981 total—despite the larger numbers of poor children now compared with 1981.
- The federal contribution for programs for the handicapped has dropped far below the proportion initially promised by the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (PL 94-142): 40 percent of the national per pupil expenditure for such students. It currently is approximately 10 percent.

- Federal bilingual education funds are well below real FY 1981 levels, resulting in only a small minority of students with limited English proficiency being served.
- Federal support for college education has not kept pace with drastic increases in tuition costs. In FY 1987 the Pell grants' maximum award of $2,100 per poor student was only 20 percent more than the maximum award in FY 1980. During the same period the cost of tuition in public and private colleges soared by more than 75 percent. From 1977 to 1986, while the percentage of eighteen- to twenty-four-year-old white recent high school graduates attending college increased from 51 to 56 percent, the percentage of black graduates attending college declined from 50 to 36.5 percent.

Federal, state, and local governments, organizations interested in education, educators, parents, and children must work together to ensure that all children receive an adequate education. As the business-led Committee for Economic Development stated in 1987, the federal government must "reaffirm its long-standing commitment to ensure that the disadvantaged have access to quality education. Without equity, there can be no real excellence in education."

- All eligible children must be provided Chapter 1 services. As a first step, Chapter 1 must be reauthorized and given an appropriation increase of $500 million in real (inflation-adjusted) dollars for FY 1989. Funding must continue to be increased by $500 million in real dollars each year through 1993 until all eligible children are served. Special efforts must be made for districts with high concentrations of poor families and to expand Chapter 1 in secondary schools and enhance dropout prevention efforts.
- So that the Even Start program can give parents the skills and techniques needed for them to be more effective partners in their children's education, $50 million is needed.
- Approximately 160,000 additional students can be provided bilingual education through an appropriation of $250 million in FY 1989.
- A FY 1989 appropriation adequate to fund Pell grants at the maximum level of $2,600 per student is necessary.

Youth Employment

The future well-being of our nation is threatened by deteriorating employment prospects for young Americans today.

- Less than one-half of all high school graduates younger than twenty and not enrolled in college held full-time jobs in 1986, compared with more than two-thirds in the late 1960s. Only one in three male high school dropouts and one in seven female dropouts younger than twenty worked full time in 1986.
- Among all workers younger than twenty-five, the proportion involuntarily working part time because full-time employment was not available increased by nearly one-half between 1979 and 1985.
- Between 1973 and 1986, the average inflation-adjusted earnings of males ages twenty to twenty-four fell by more than 25 percent. In 1973

nearly 60 percent of all men ages twenty to twenty-four were able to earn enough to lift a family of three above the official federal poverty line, but only 42 percent could do so by 1984.

These changes have far-reaching implications for the formation and economic well-being of young families.

- As fewer young men have been able to bring home adequate earnings, their marriage rates have fallen. These rates dropped by half from 1974 to 1985, and one-third to one-half of that decline is attributable to falling earnings.
- Falling marriage rates mean higher out-of-wedlock birth rates. More than half of all births to teens, as well as one-quarter of births to women ages twenty to twenty-four, were out of wedlock in 1984.
- The poverty rate among young families doubled from 1973 to 1986. Half of all children in families headed by persons younger than twenty-five are poor.

In their increasingly difficult struggle to find work at decent wages, many disadvantaged youths are hampered by a serious handicap: weak basic academic skills.

- Young Americans who by age eighteen have the weakest basic skills (in the lowest fifth of their age group) are between four and seven times more likely to drop out of school and be jobless in subsequent years than those with above-average skills.
- While average basic skills of young Americans have been increasing, labor market demands have changed even more quickly, leaving those with weaker skills at a greater disadvantage.

Poor youths lack adequate formal and informal job networks.

- The vast majority of American high schools have no direct job placement programs, and poor teenagers are less likely to have as many relatives or family friends who are employed and who can provide access to information about job openings or contacts with employers.

Dwindling employment prospects in the manufacturing sector have diminished employment and earnings prospects for young workers with less than a college education.

- Since 1974 the proportion of young men working in manufacturing jobs has declined by one-fourth, while the proportion employed in generally less lucrative retail trade and service occupations has increased by more than one-fifth.

The federal government has failed since 1981 to raise the federal minimum wage—which determines the rate of pay for many young workers. The wage has remained stagnant at $3.35 per hour, despite the loss of nearly one-third of its real 1979 value due to inflation.

Remedial education, vocational training, and programs of work experience for poor and minority youths can improve significantly their chances of obtaining employment at decent wages. Several federally funded efforts during the past two decades have had promising results for youths—boosting employment rates and earnings.

- Every $1.00 invested in the federally sponsored Job Corps program returns $1.45 in benefits to society by increasing employment, earnings, and school completion rates while reducing crime and welfare costs.
- The Jobs for America's Graduates Program increases employment rates among participants by 23 percent and raises their average annual earnings by more than $1,300 (36 percent).

A combination of inadequate federal investments and repeated policy shifts, however, has stymied the development of an effective system for promoting and supporting successful interventions.

- Job Corps has the capacity to serve only about 3 percent of the 1.3 million teenagers officially counted as unemployed at the end of 1987.
- Overall, federal spending on employment and training efforts for adults and youths (adjusted for inflation) has been slashed by more than 70 percent during the Reagan years.

A series of strategic investments by the federal government could bolster the success of existing youth employment efforts substantially and is necessary to tackle the persistent problems of joblessness, underemployment, and low wages now plaguing many young people.

- Community Learning Centers to provide remedial education would boost the basic skills of youths and young adults who have left school. A revolving loan fund established by the federal government and administered by states would help local agencies finance initial investments in basic skills curricula, cost-effective microcomputers, and other learning materials necessary to bolster such remedial education efforts.
- An appropriation of $50 million in matching federal funds for states willing to invest in effective school-to-work transition programs like Jobs for America's Graduates would help ensure that disadvantaged youths obtain this basic assistance.
- A $200 million increase in the Summer Youth Employment Program targeted to communities supplementing the work experience with remedial education for those youths with lagging basic skills would enhance the program's benefits greatly.
- The Job Corps appropriation should be increased $200 million to serve more than 25,000 additional disadvantaged young people.
- The minimum wage must be raised to $3.85 an hour in 1988 and increased in subsequent years to restore its real 1979 value, adjusted for inflation.

Preventing Adolescent Pregnancy and Building Youth Self-Sufficiency

All across America, in rural and urban areas and among all racial groups, too many of our youths stumble and fall under the burden of early, unintended pregnancy and parenthood.

- Approximately 1.1 million teens became pregnant in 1985.

- There were 478,000 births to teens in 1985, most of them the result of unintended pregnancies.
- Each day 488 babies are born to women younger than eighteen.

There have always been teen parents, and the numbers of them are actually decreasing. Birth rates declined from sixty-eight births per 1,000 teen women in 1970 to fifty-one per 1,000 in 1985. But important new social and economic trends in our society make the costs of teen parenthood to the teens and their children, as well as to the larger society, far higher today than they were a couple of decades ago.

- Teen parents always have dropped out of school, but the costs of dropping out are rising. Among students enrolled in school in their sophomore year, half of the young women who become mothers and almost one-third of the young men who become fathers drop out of school. Whereas in 1960 a high school dropout could expect to earn almost 90 percent of what a high school graduate earned, by 1986 the dropout's earning power had eroded substantially: young high school dropouts made only 70 cents for every $1.00 earned by those with diplomas.
- Declining earnings for all young workers, and especially for those with less education, make it harder to support families. In 1985 only one-third of male dropouts ages twenty through twenty-four earned enough to support a family of three above the poverty line. Regardless of race or education, men in that age group with earnings above the poverty threshold for a family of three are three to four times more likely to marry than young men with below-poverty earnings.
- Although two incomes now are often essential to keep a family with children above the poverty level, in part because of falling wages, marriage rates among pregnant teens and teen mothers have been declining in recent years.
- In the early 1960s slightly more than half of the teen women who became pregnant before marriage and decided to continue the pregnancy married before the birth of the children. But only one-third of women who gave birth to premaritally conceived babies in 1980 and 1981 married before the birth.

While teen pregnancy and parenthood are problems that afflict all Americans, it is clear that poverty greatly increases a teen's risk of becoming a parent too soon.

- Poor teens are two and a half times more likely to become parents than are non-poor teens.
- In significant part because of the higher rates of poverty suffered by minority groups, minority teens also have higher rates of teen pregnancy and parenthood. They account for only 27 percent of the adolescent population but about 40 percent of teen births.

Effectively shut off from hopes of even modest success, many poor youths see little to gain by staying in school, delaying parenthood, or marrying once childbearing has begun.

- More than half of the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds surveyed from families with incomes below the federal poverty line have basic reading and math skills that place them in the bottom 20 percent of all teens.

- Regardless of race, poor teens are about three times more likely to drop out of school than are non-poor teens.

Data suggest that reducing family poverty and raising basic academic skills could play a significant role in reducing adolescent pregnancy rates and improving the quality of these teens' lives.

- Young men and women—whether black, white, or Hispanic—with poor basic academic skills are more than three times as likely to be parents as are those with average or better basic skills.
- Regardless of race, one in five young women with below-average skills from a family with a below-poverty income becomes a parent while a teenager. These teens are five and a half times more likely to be parents than those from all racial groups who have solid academic skills and come from non-poor families.

To avoid falling into the trap of teen parenthood, teens need two important forms of help.

- More than half of all teenage boys and girls between the ages of fifteen and nineteen are sexually active. All American teens need better and more timely access to sexuality-related information (including counseling concerning the option of postponing sexual activity), and services that give them the capacity to delay pregnancy once they become sexually active.
- Teens need reasons to believe that delaying pregnancy and parenthood is in their best interest. Research strongly suggests that teens' decisions about sexual activity and use of contraception are tied closely to their feelings of self-esteem, their aspirations, and their perceptions of opportunities available to them.

Effective teen pregnancy prevention efforts must offer different forms of help to young people.

- For teens for whom the basic supports are there—the educational, occupational, and family experiences and expectations that give them the compelling reasons to want to delay parenthood—we need to reinforce those supports and offer earlier and more comprehensive sexuality education and better access to contraceptive counseling and services for those who are already sexually active.
- For teens for whom the basic supports are weak, we must offer these sexuality-specific components and also strengthen their academic skills, broaden their experiences, and increase their opportunities through education, employment exposure and experience, recreation, health care, and family supports.

Child Care

America's children are vulnerable because our nation has failed to come to grips with today's realities for families, forcing many families, especially low- and moderate-income families, to leave their children in inadequate and sometimes dangerous child care situations.

- Most mothers of young children have joined the labor force, a massive demographic shift that has made decent child care a necessity for families from every income group. By 1995 two-thirds of all preschool children and four of five school-age children will have mothers in the work force.

- For many two-parent families today, the second income is all that stands between them and poverty. In 1987 the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families found that poverty among two-parent families would increase 35 percent if the wives in them were not employed.

High quality child care keeps children safe and is effective in giving children from low-income families the foundation they will need to learn basic academic skills and eventually lead better lives.

- More than three-quarters of all poor youths are below average in basic academic skills. A positive early childhood development experience helps low-income children begin school on more equal footing with their advantaged peers and improves their ability to gain the basic skills necessary to their future success.
- The Research and Policy Committee of the business-led Committee for Economic Development firmly supports a public investment in such programs for low-income children and finds that the benefits to society far outweigh the costs.

Child care is crucial to enable parents in poor families to move their families from dependence on welfare to self-sufficiency through education and training programs leading to employment.

- In 1987 the U.S. General Accounting Office reported that about 60 percent of those enrolled in AFDC work and training programs said lack of child care had prevented their full participation.
- Providing child care assistance to low-income working families so they can be self-sufficient costs only 38 percent of what it costs to provide AFDC and Medicaid benefits, according to the Colorado Department of Social Services.
- More than 200,000 non-working mothers of young children turn down job offers each month because they cannot find or afford child care.

Millions of American families cannot afford to pay for decent child care, whether their household has one income or two.

- In 1985, 2.7 million children, or more than one-fifth of all poor children, were poor even though they had a mother who worked full time.
- The cost of child care for one child equals nearly half the median annual income ($6,500 in 1985) of a single mother with at least one child younger than six.

Because of the dearth of affordable child care, too many parents today use a patchwork of child care resources and are forced to leave their children unsupervised or to accept low quality services that can harm the children.

- The majority of young school-age children (including about one-half of those in kindergarten through third grade) either take care of themselves or are cared for by older siblings for some portion of after-school hours, according to a Minneapolis area survey by the Center for Youth Development and Research at the University of Minnesota.

- A Louis Harris survey quoted a majority of more than 1,000 teachers interviewed as citing isolation and lack of supervision after school as the major reason children have difficulty in school.
- Low provider salaries contribute to poor child care quality by causing high rates of turnover. New Census Bureau data reveal that child care workers' wages actually shrank 25 percent from 1979 to 1986. Child care providers today are paid less per hour than animal caretakers, bartenders, or parking lot attendants.

While the need has been growing, the federal government has reduced its efforts to help lower income families pay for child care.

- States devote an average of 18 percent of their Title XX Social Services Block Grant allocations from the federal government to help poor families pay for child care, but that portion is sliced from a shrinking pie. After adjusting for inflation, the federal Title XX appropriation for FY 1988 is less than half that of FY 1977.
- Title XX-funded child care programs in FY 1977 served only 12 percent of the 3.3 million poor children younger than six. Nine years later, the number of poor children in that age group had grown to 4.8 million, many of whom have working parents, but child care programs had less Title XX money to spend.

The federal government has done little to help improve the quality of child care.

- The federal government in 1981 abandoned its efforts to set minimum standards for child care programs that receive federal funds. As a result of uneven state standards: thirty-one states do not establish any maximum group size for preschoolers; only twenty-six states require continuing training for child care teachers; twenty-nine states have no rules guaranteeing unlimited parental access to centers; and only three meet the recommendations of the National Association for the Education of Young Children regarding caregiver-to-infant ratios.

The unmet needs of children and families escalate across the nation.

- In a 1986 survey, 230 public housing projects around the country with on-site child care centers reported combined waiting lists totaling 96,000 children.
- In Florida in 1986 two young boys died at home alone while on the state's Title XX child care waiting list. Yet the waiting lists for Florida child care assistance grew again in 1987—to nearly 30,000 children statewide.

Working in a partnership with states and the private sector, the federal government must enact a substantial new program to make affordable, appropriate, quality care more readily available to the nation's low- and moderate-income families. The keystone of that plan, the Act for Better Child Care Services (H.R. 3660, S. 1885) was introduced in Congress in the fall of 1987. The Act calls for a $2.5 billion first-year investment in child care.

- To make child care affordable for more American families, the Act would provide states with funds to offer child care assistance to families earning less than 115 percent of the state's median income (adjusted for family size), with the amount of assistance depending on family income.

- To help states increase the availability of child care facilities and qualified providers, the Act would encourage states to establish grant and low-interest loan programs and fund recruitment and training of new family day care providers.
- To help states improve the quality of child care, the Act would make funds available for training and technical assistance, would require states to update periodically their child care licensing standards, and would establish a process for setting minimum standards in key areas such as health, safety, staff training, and parental involvement.

Head Start

Head Start and other high quality, comprehensive early childhood development programs help lay the foundation on which many children can build the basic skills they must have for success in school and later at work. For disadvantaged children, such programs can be especially crucial, often helping to compensate for the harmful effects of poverty.

- The business-led Committee for Economic Development has called these programs "a superior educational investment for society."
- The National Governors' Association, in its 1986 report, *Time for Results: The Governors' 1991 Report on Education*, says that quality early childhood programs "reduce the high school dropout rate, increase the college attendance rate, increase employment, and reduce the welfare and crime rates after high school."

Such programs, however, remain far beyond the economic reach of many of the families whose children most need this help.

- In 1985 fewer than 33 percent of four-year-olds and 17 percent of three-year-olds with family incomes below $10,000 a year were enrolled in preschool programs. In contrast, 67 percent of four-year-olds and 54 percent of three-year-olds whose families had incomes of $35,000 a year or more attended preschool programs that year.

Since 1965 the federal Head Start program has succeeded in helping needy children and their families better their lives by following two common-sense precepts.

- First, children from low-income backgrounds will reap huge benefits from comprehensive services that include necessary health care and nutritional assistance as well as preschool education.
- Second, enlisting parents as partners in the children's learning experiences and as positive role models will help both parents and children succeed.

Studies show that Head Start's formula yields substantial long-term dividends to our society.

- A study of the Perry Preschool Program in Ypsilanti, Michigan (a comprehensive program similar to Head Start), showed that three- and four-year-olds who had been enrolled in the program, compared with a control group that had not attended the program, were more likely to be literate, employed, and enrolled in postsecondary education twenty years later and less likely to be school dropouts, dependent on welfare, or arrested for delinquent or criminal activity. The benefits to society were six times the program cost.

Public investment in early childhood development, however, falls far short of the need.

- Despite Head Start's proven success, only 16 percent of eligible children—or 453,000 youngsters nationwide—are served by the program today. Across the country, state and local Head Start directors report long waiting lists.
- Despite a few laudable efforts, in general the states are offering very small comprehensive early childhood programs or none at all. Aggregate state funding for preschool is one-tenth of federal Head Start funding. Moreover, less than one-tenth of this state funding is in turn targeted by states explicitly to supplement federal Head Start efforts for poor children.

Head Start must be made available to all low-income youngsters who need it.

- As a first step, appropriated funds should be raised to the full authorization level of $1.332 billion in FY 1989. Then, in order to reach the goal of serving 50 percent of the children eligible for Head Start in five years, Head Start authorization and appropriation levels must be increased by at least $400 million annually each year for five years. Ultimately, as the Committee for Economic Development recommends, every low-income child must be able to participate in Head Start or a comparable program.

Abused and Neglected Children and Others With Special Needs

While most American children grow up safe, secure, and emotionally well, a sizable minority of our youngsters do not.

- More than 1,200 children died from abuse and neglect in 1986, a 23 percent increase from 1985.
- Reports of child abuse and neglect have increased steadily since 1976, with a national increase of more than 90 percent between 1981 and 1986. In 1986 alone an estimated 2.2 million children and adolescents were reported abused, neglected, or both, according to data from the American Association for Protecting Children. States report that deteriorating economic conditions for many families have contributed to the increases in abuse and neglect.
- Another vulnerable group are the approximately 275,000 children (one-half of whom are minority and nearly one-half of whom are teenagers) now living away from their families under the auspices of public child welfare agencies in foster family homes, group homes, residential treatment centers, and other institutions.
- A third group of troubled children and adolescents consists of the estimated 7.5 million to 9.5 million children who have emotional or other problems that require mental health services. Of this group, 70 to 80 percent do not receive the care they need.

Targeted federal efforts to help these vulnerable children and their families were instituted between 1974 and 1980 and served as a catalyst for a number of improvements. Many of these programs were then subjected to numerous and continuing attempts by the Reagan Administration to reduce or eliminate them. The programs survived (generally at reduced funding levels), and they have been supplemented by new congressional initiatives since 1984.

- The first federal programs specifically designed to address the problems of child abuse and neglect were authorized in 1974 by The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act. The Act has stimulated new procedures to identify abused and neglected children and new treatment approaches for them and their families. The Act's limited funds supplement the federal funds provided to states under the Title XX Social Services Block Grant. Total Title XX funding after adjustment for inflation, however, is less than one-half what it was in 1977. Recent initiatives (including the Child Abuse Challenge Grants Program and the Family Violence Prevention and Services Program) have evidenced some renewed federal commitment to helping abused and neglected children.
- Many of the tens of thousands of children in foster care have benefited from the protections and services developed in states as a result of the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980 (PL 96-272). The Act's federal funds for subsidies to pave the way for the adoption of children with special needs, in combination with the Adoption Opportunities Program, have improved the adoption prospects of children who are older or who have physical, emotional, or mental disabilities. An estimated 30,000 children benefited from this part of the program in FY 1987.
- In a number of states PL 96-272 has stimulated efforts to prevent the unnecessary placement of children in foster care and to facilitate reunification of children in care with their families. An additional recent congressional initiative is designed to help older teens in foster care make the transition to independent living.
- In 1984 Congress launched the Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP) to improve the quantity and quality of services delivered to seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents. It does this by fostering the development of an improved focus on children within states' mental health systems and enabling better cooperation among responsible agencies.
- In their efforts to meet children's mental health needs, states also use funds from the federal Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant, which requires them to set aside at least 10 percent of their share of the block grant's mental health funds for new or expanded services for underserved areas and populations, including severely disturbed children and adolescents.
- Coordinated community-based services for seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents are working well in California. Since June 1985 the Ventura County Mental Health Agency has been successful in reducing out-of-county, court-ordered juvenile justice and social services placements by 46 percent, and reducing state hospital use to 25 percent of its 1980-1981 level.

Nonetheless, current resources and systems remain grossly inadequate to meet the increasing needs of these youths and their families.

- While reports of abuse and neglect escalated between 1981 and 1985, federal resources for prevention and treatment fell further and further behind the demand. More than four-fifths of the thirty-one states that reported to the U.S. House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families on resource trends from FY 1981 to FY 1985 said they lost federal support.
- Virtually every state and region agrees that children in care today pose greater challenges to the foster care system's resources. A recent study reported that almost two-thirds of the Ohio children in placement have behavior and social adjustment problems, mental health problems, and/or developmental or physical disabilities. But the increased demands on the system come at a time when foster care resources have been diverted to assist with child abuse investigations, significantly reducing the resources available for appropriate placements and supportive services.
- The foster care system also lacks the necessary resources to help children make a successful transition when they leave care. This is an especially urgent need because almost half of the children in substitute care nationwide are teens. The Reagan Administration's deliberate foot-dragging on implementation of and attempts to repeal the federal independent living program for youths in foster care enacted in 1985 stalled progress in the states aimed at addressing the problems facing teens preparing to leave the system.
- Millions of children with mental health problems continue to be denied appropriate care. Reports from various state studies of mental health services for children cite growing demands and continuing deficiencies.

In order to address appropriately the multiple needs of these vulnerable children and youths, actions are needed to establish a service system that can respond appropriately to the individual needs of children and families. A crucial part of such a system will be staffs that are appropriately qualified, trained, and compensated. A comprehensive system of services should incorporate the full range of intensive home-based service programs, specialized out-of-home care programs, and programs designed to help vulnerable youths make a successful transition to adulthood.

- As we work toward an improved comprehensive system, our nation must increase investments in urgently needed programs: the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Program, Family Violence Prevention and Services Program, Child Abuse Challenge Grants, Child Welfare Services Program, Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Program, Adoption Opportunities Program, and the federal independent living initiative.
- A doubling of funding for the Child and Adolescent Service System Program in FY 1989 and restoring overall funding for the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant at least to its FY 1981 funding level (with a specific set-aside for services for disturbed children and adolescents) would better meet the needs of emotionally troubled children.

Runaway Youths and Others in the Juvenile Justice System

The common estimate is that 1.2 million to 1.5 million children and adolescents, ages ten through seventeen, run away from home each year in the United States.

- Among children and adolescents who run away from home, many are victims of abuse and neglect; some have had bad experiences in foster care and others have serious emotional problems for which they have received no help. Upwards of one-third are running from physical or sexual abuse, and 40 percent from other family problems such as parental alcoholism or marital conflict.
- While most runaway youths return home, a growing minority cannot, having been pushed out by their families.
- The National Network of Runaway and Youth Services, an organization of approximately 1,000 community-based youth-serving agencies, reported in 1985 that 60 percent of the 300 shelter programs it surveyed had seen a higher proportion of youths with multiple problems than before.

Another group of troubled youths are those currently in the juvenile justice system. In a 1985 census of youths in detention on one day:

- There were 49,332 youths overall in public juvenile correctional facilities, of whom more than 90 percent were accused of or found to have committed delinquent offenses. Included were 2,293 status offenders (young people who have committed acts, such as truancy, that are not crimes when committed by adults). Privately run detention facilities housed 34,000 juveniles.

Another group of youths in the criminal justice system who face serious risks to their health and safety are those confined to adult jails or temporary holding facilities, usually referred to as "lock-ups." It is estimated that more than 100,000 young people (some estimate as many as 400,000) pass through jails and lock-ups each year.

Young people who come in contact with the formal juvenile justice system often have histories of abuse and neglect or serious emotional problems.

- In a recent national survey conducted by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, the judges cited abuse as a key factor in at least 70 percent of the cases with which they deal, including those involving delinquency.
- A study in the *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* reported that delinquent teenagers were significantly more likely than other youths of similar socioeconomic status to suffer neurological impairment, evidence cognitive dysfunction, have severe psychiatric symptoms, and have histories of physical abuse and family violence. Other studies show that a very high proportion of children in detention are significantly behind their peers in academic skills.

For more than a decade, federal programs targeted on troubled youths have accomplished impressive results with very limited resources.

- The Runaway and Homeless Youth Act has provided significant assistance to local communities in meeting the needs of runaway and homeless youths and their families. In FY 1987, 307 centers funded under the program served an estimated 340,000 youths.

- The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act has helped to begin bringing about the reform of juvenile justice systems across the United States. Its goals have included prevention of delinquency, creation of alternatives to institutionalization, diversion of youths from the courts, reduction in the confinements of youths in jails, and keeping youths out of adult jails. A Jail Removal Initiative that funded twenty-three multi-county sites through the Act resulted in an average decrease of two-thirds in the jailing of young people, with a showing that nonsecure alternatives are two to three times less expensive than jail. Juvenile justice funds have been used to develop non-institutional alternatives to jails in more than twenty states.

Existing programs, however, fall far short both in their breadth (the numbers of young people served) and depth (their capability to address youths' complex problems).

- Nationally, shelters for runaway youths are estimated to serve only about one-fifth of those needing services, turning away thousands of youths because no space is available.
- In Los Angeles there are seventy-five shelter beds, but estimates of the homeless teens on the streets run as high as 10,000.
- In a number of states, many youths in the care of juvenile justice agencies continue to be placed in overly restrictive settings, as resources for community-based alternatives are cut back. The U.S. Department of Justice reported the highest number of children confined in public correctional facilities in 1985 since the survey was begun in 1971. More than half of the total juveniles housed, including those awaiting sentencing and 70 percent of the committed youths, were in long-term institutional settings—primarily detention centers and training schools.
- As of December 1987 twenty states were out of compliance or predicted to be out of compliance with the federal deadline for removal of children from adult jails and lock-ups.

The Reagan Administration repeatedly has tried to cut funding for programs that offer preventive strategies and supports for at-risk youths.

- Having survived several Administration attempts to combine its funding with other service programs, the Runaway and Homeless Youth program was funded at $23.2 million from FY 1984 through FY 1987. While FY 1988 funding will rise to $26.1 million, that amount barely keeps the program at its 1984 level in real dollars.
- Since 1981 the Administration has tried again and again to eliminate all funding for the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act program. While Congress maintained the program's funding each year in the FY 1982 to FY 1987 period at roughly $70 million—a 30 percent drop from 1981—only $66.6 million will be available in FY 1988.

Efforts at prevention of juvenile delinquency and other problems identified with troubled teens must begin with investments in income supports, health care, child care, and education that enable all families to meet their children's needs better. When prevention fails, a comprehensive array of services must be in place to address the special physical, emotional, social, and educational needs of troubled youths.

Existing federal programs for troubled children and families must be reauthorized and funded at increased levels, including the Juvenile Justice and

Delinquency Prevention Act, the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act, and the federal independent living initiative for teens.

Meanwhile, our nation must increase its investment in other programs that help children before their problems become so intense that they run away or get in trouble, including the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, the Child Welfare Services Program, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Program, and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program.

Civil Rights

The Reagan Administration consistently has lobbied Congress to oppose new civil rights legislation and improvements in older laws.

- The Administration's stalling tactics helped defeat prompt action in 1987 on key amendments to the federal fair housing law. The amendments were an attempt to remedy chronic problems in the enforcement of existing federal laws against discrimination in housing affecting minorities and women. The amendments also would extend the fair housing law's protections to the handicapped and families with children. A 1980 government study showed three-quarters of rental units nationwide excluding or putting restrictions on families with children.
- The Administration also has sought to derail or delay the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which would close a large loophole in the federal law that prohibits programs receiving federal financial assistance from practicing discrimination. This loophole allows recipients such as colleges or hospitals to continue to receive federal funds even if they practice discrimination in many of their activities, so long as they are not the particular activities directly receiving the funds.

The Administration has thrown monkey wrenches into the enforcement of existing civil rights protections.

- In both 1985 and 1987, after reviewing the activities of the Education Department's Office of Civil Rights, the House Committee on Government Operations concluded that the office had failed to enforce the law in many cases where discrimination had been found. In 1987 the committee concluded that the Department of Health and Human Services' (HHS) Office of Civil Rights was doing an extremely poor job of enforcing federal anti-discrimination laws in hospitals and other institutions. The HHS office has allowed discrimination cases to languish at headquarters for as long as seven and a half years without any action.
- The number of civil rights cases that the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs moved through the pipeline for enforcement fell from 269 in 1980 to twenty-two in 1986.

The Reagan Administration repeatedly has nominated to key positions individuals with demonstrated hostility to civil rights laws.

- In 1987 the Administration nominated to the Supreme Court federal Appeals Court Judge Robert Bork, who had criticized stridently and repeatedly almost every landmark civil rights decision of the past thirty years.

Reagan's choices for the federal bench have done nothing to redress the overwhelming racial and sexual imbalance on these courts.

- As of December 1987, of Reagan's sixty-eight appointments to the U.S. Court of Appeals, less than 6 percent were women and 3 percent were minorities.

Far from defending the rights of minorities, women, and the handicapped, the Administration had led the attack in the Supreme Court against efforts to overcome years of past discrimination.

- Justice Department lawyers have argued against minority and female workers and public and private employers who are defending affirmative action efforts as a remedy for years of discrimination. In 1987, in *United States v. Paradise,* the Administration argued unsuccessfully against a court-approved plan to redress the systematic exclusion of blacks from employment in Alabama's Department of Public Safety.
- In another key 1987 employment discrimination case, *Johnson v. Transportation Agency,* the Justice Department attacked directly a county transportation department's affirmative action plan, similar to that required by the federal Executive Order for federal contractors. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the plan.
- The Justice Department also has taken sides against the handicapped, arguing unsuccessfully in *School Board of Nassau County v. Arline* that a firing based on fear of an impairment rather than on the effects of the actual impairment represented no violation of an employee's rights.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

• **Health.** The President's FY 1989 budget proposals generally freeze programs' funding at levels that are already grossly inadequate. Despite the erosion in key maternal and child health indicators, no significant new efforts are proposed to try to improve the health of America's children.

The Administration proposes regulatory changes in Medicaid that would cut more than $400 million and harm certain groups of Medicaid recipients. Small increases in the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant and the Community and Migrant Health Centers programs, and a freeze in the Family Planning Program would leave each of these programs at a funding level well below that of FY 1981, after inflation is factored in. The Administration proposes a small ($20 million) infant mortality reduction initiative. Finally, a very modest increase proposed for the immunization grants program will not be enough to compensate for inflation and step up the number of dosages delivered to children needing vaccinations.

• **Family income.** The Administration's FY 1989 budget proposals fail to address the root cause of poverty—inadequate family income.

The Administration would undercut rather than expand current employment and training initiatives for recipients of AFDC, eliminating the Work Incentive Program (WIN), under which some states are demonstrating successful comprehensive education, training, and employment initiatives. Instead, the budget includes $368 million to implement the Administration-supported AFDC Employment and Training Reorganization Act—a proposal that would require states to spread very limited funds among education and work activities for a very high proportion of their AFDC recipients, thereby preventing states from making more targeted and effective investments. The bill also fails to provide necessary supports such as child care to AFDC parents struggling to participate in education, training, and employment programs, and does not ensure continuing health and child care services for those who are able to leave AFDC for employment but still need this help.

AFDC families and other low-income families and individuals are also threatened by the Administration's proposed cutbacks in the areas of energy assistance and community services. The President proposes to cut the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program by 21 percent, on top of a 16 percent cut in FY 1988. Further, the Administration proposes eliminating the $161 million Weatherization Assistance Program. The President asks for a phase-out of the Community Services Block Grant and other community service initiatives, including a first-year reduction in the block grant's funding from $326 million in FY 1988 to $282 million in FY 1989.

The FY 1989 budget for the AFDC program also includes $349 million in proposed savings resulting from the resumed collection from states of AFDC error rate disallowances—a process that could lead states to reduce benefits or restrict eligibility to recoup resulting losses.

- **Homelessness and housing.** The Administration's proposals all but ignore the desperate lack of affordable housing for low-income families. Most of the proposed assistance for additional households would be provided in the form of housing vouchers, which do not help build the housing supply and are of little benefit to needy families that live in areas with tight housing markets. The President also proposes a change in the Section 8 certificate program that would make the certificates more like the Administration's failed voucher program by removing the 30 percent limit on the amount of income a low-income tenant can be required to pay for rent. The Administration would wholly eliminate two programs helpful to such families, the Housing Development Grant Program (HoDAG) and the Housing Counseling Program, and also would slash $50 million from the Rental Rehabilitation program.

The Administration's proposed budget would devastate the programs and services that serve homeless children and families. For example, the Stewart McKinney Homeless Assistance Act is not recommended for reauthorization. The President would provide no funding for the $58 million Emergency Shelter Grants Program or the $15 million Supplemental Assistance for Facilities program, and would reduce funding for the Emergency Food and Shelter Program by $34 million, or 30 percent. The Administration's budget proposals eliminate some programs that seek to minimize the damage homelessness does to families, such as the Education for Homeless Children Program ($9.4 million in FY 1988), Job Training for the Homeless ($10 million in FY 1988), and the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program ($50 million in FY 1988), and deeply cut others, such as the proposed reduction in Health Care for the Homeless from $60 million to $15 million.

- **Food assistance.** The Administration's budget for food assistance programs in FY 1989 represents a departure from previous Reagan Administration budgets: no reductions are proposed for food stamps or child nutrition programs. The WIC program would receive sufficent funding to cover inflation from FY 1988 to FY 1989. Major reductions are proposed, however, for two emergency food assistance programs that serve some of the neediest families in our society: funding for the emergency food and shelter program would be reduced for the second year in a row, from $114 million in FY 1988 to $80 million in FY 1989. This reduction would come at the same time that USDA is drastically reducing its distribution to the needy of surplus cheese and other surplus food items. The budget also terminates the $50 million annual appropriation that helps defray the costs to state and local public and charitable agencies and food banks of transporting, storing, and distributing surplus USDA foods for the needy under the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program.

The budget lacks any positive steps to address the ongoing hunger problem in our nation or to raise the too-small percentage of low-income pregnant women, infants, and children served through WIC.

- **Education.** Although the Reagan Administration's education budget proposal of $21.2 billion for FY 1989 calls for $851 million more than the FY 1988 appropriation (or a 4.2 percent increase), the aggregate added funds will only equal inflation-generated cost increases, leaving many programs without the significant real boost they need.

The budget only increases financial assistance to local school districts for Chapter 1 (education of the disadvantaged) by $238 million, or about 5 percent, far less than the $500 million endorsed by H.R. 5, an omnibus education bill. The state grant program for education for handicapped children would be increased by $42.5 million, less than expected inflation. The tiny boost for the handicapped preschool program also would not even compensate for inflation.

Other programs including vocational education, Indian Education, Immigrant and Refugee Education, and Dropout Prevention Demonstrations would be frozen at FY 1988 levels.

The President's proposal would abolish a number of smaller federal initiatives that were established to address specific national priorities: the High School Equivalency Program (HEP) and the College Migrant Program (CAMP), which help low-income migrant and seasonal farmworkers; the Follow-Through Program, which bolsters gains made by Head Start children through educational services in the early elementary grades; and the Education of Homeless Children and Youth program.

Finally, although the Administration is requesting a $100 increase in the maximum annual Pell grant provided to needy college students, the increase in the program's costs will come at the expense of other programs that provide federal financial aid to college students. The Administration is proposing to slash $189 million from the $211 million Perkins loan program for low- and moderate-income students. The $73 million State Student Incentive Grant program is targeted for elimination.

- **Youth employment.** This budget does nothing to address the shortfall of federal efforts. Federal support for both JTPA and the Summer Youth Employment Program would be frozen at FY 1988 levels, resulting in roughly a 2 percent reduction in the total number of youths served, due to inflation. Moreover, the Administration seeks to allow localities to spread summer jobs funds on a year-round basis, ignoring the importance of the summer experience and diluting the focus of the program. Federal support for Jobs Corps would be reduced slightly, to $711 million in FY 1989, $5.5 million below FY 1988 funding levels.

- **Child care.** The President's proposals would weaken the already minimal federal commitment to child care further by: failing to support the continuation of a $50 million increase over FY 1987 levels that was authorized in FY 1988 in the Title XX Social Services Block Grant; proposing the phase-out of the Community Services Block Grant over several years and assuming that Title XX will absorb some of the cost of its services, thereby diluting the ability of states to provide child care under Title XX; and elimination of the Work Incentive Program (WIN), which helps states provide child care along with work and training activities to AFDC recipients.

- **Head Start.** Because the President proposes flat funding for this program at $1.206 billion and because of the eroding impact of inflation, almost 18,000 fewer children would receive Head Start services under the President's plan.

- **Abused and neglected children and others with special needs.** The Administration's requests for level funding for most programs ignore the growing demands that these children and their families are placing on existing service systems. President Reagan's budget proposes: no funding for the $45 million independent living program designed to assist older youths in foster care to become self-sufficient when they leave care; no funding for a 1987 initiative that assists babies with AIDS or other special problems who have been abandoned in hospitals; a freeze of funding for the Child Welfare Services Program at its FY 1988 level of $239.4 million; maintenance in FY 1989 of the Title XX Social Services Block Grant at its FY 1988 funding level of $2.7 billion, more than $1 billion less than its FY 1981 funding level in inflation-adjusted dollars; holding funds for the federal Foster Care Program only at the FY 1988 current services level, despite an expected increase in the number of children in care; and modest increases in the Adoption Assistance Program and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant.
- **Runaway youths and others in the juvenile justice system.** President Reagan's budget once again proposes to reduce crucial federal investments in programs that serve troubled children and adolescents. For the eighth year in a row, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program (funded at $68.6 million in FY 1988) is slated for elimination. The Runaway and Homeless Youth Program is frozen at its FY 1988 level of $26.1 million.
- **Civil rights.** The Administration's budget seeks to continue years of erosion in the funding of many of our nation's primary civil rights enforcement agencies. It would cut funding for the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health and Human Services by $170,000. Its proposed small increase for the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education would not be enough to keep pace with inflation. The handful of other civil rights enforcement agencies for which the Administration has proposed slight increases are generally those to which Congress has given new enforcement responsibilities that are far too costly to be covered by these modest boosts. The Administration again seeks to eliminate the Women's Educational Act Program and a number of other programs of assistance for minority groups.

HEALTH

> "In 1983 . . . I became pregnant . . . . We were a small farm family and having suffered two devastating drought years we were also literally broke. Nonetheless, I wanted my baby very much.
>
> "I went to the county Health Department and practically begged for someone to 'at least take my blood pressure.' I was told that they no longer do that. So . . . I thought, well, everything will be all right. I just couldn't afford to see a doctor.
>
> "At twenty-eight weeks gestation, I gave birth . . . at the local emergency room. My baby girl weighed two pounds, four ounces and was the most pitiful sight. . . . After almost five months hospitalization and thousands of dollars on Medicaid we brought home a four pound, eleven ounce baby.
>
> "If only I could have received a small amount of medical attention!"
>
> Excerpts from a letter to Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ),
> August 1987

Access to medical care for pregnant women and children should not be a privilege reserved for those can afford it. Society has a fundamental self-interest, as well as an obligation, to make sure that its members are not unnecessarily sick or suffering and that its children grow up as healthy as possible. Every industrialized nation except the United States and South Africa ensures that its citizens, particularly its pregnant women and children, have access to basic care through a public health service or health insurance.

Adequate health care is a necessity for every child, beginning before birth. No woman should bear a child without having received early and comprehensive maternity care, including prenatal services and a planned delivery in a medically appropriate setting. No baby or preschooler should go without regular health exams, immunizations, and the other preventive interventions that are so critical to healthy growth and development. No school-aged child should go without medical care to identify and correct normal childhood problems. No teenager should have to forgo counseling to prevent premature sexual activity or pregnancy, and all sexually active teens should have affordable access to contraceptive services. Finally, no chronically or seriously ill or disabled child should be deprived of necessary and effective treatment.

Medical care yields major and long-term benefits to our children.

- Babies born to mothers who do not receive comprehensive maternity care are three times more likely to die than those born to mothers who receive such care. Infants born to mothers who receive comprehensive care are 25 to 50 percent less likely to be born at low birthweight—a major cause of infant death and long-term disability.
- Children who receive routine health exams and preventive medical care for diagnosed conditions, such as vision and hearing problems, emotional illness, or physical disabilities, are at lower risk of poor school performance and lifelong poor health than those who do not.
- Access to preventive health education promotes more mature decision-making by teens and adults about their own health and about sexual activity. For those who are sexually active, family planning services reduce infant mortality by preventing unintended and unplanned pregnancies among women who are at medical and social risk, including teens. Simply delaying childbearing until adulthood reduces the incidence of low-birthweight births by almost one-third. Use of publicly funded family planning services by low-income women has been cited as the second most important factor in the 55 percent decline in neonatal infant mortality (deaths in the first twenty-eight days of life) among nonwhite infants between 1970 and 1984. Barrier forms of contraception also help prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases such as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), syphilis, and gonorrhea.

Health programs' benefits to society far outweigh their costs. Complete maternity care for a pregnant woman, including prenatal care, delivery, and postpartum care, costs about $3,000. For every dollar spent on such care, we save more than $3.00 in costs to society during infancy alone by reducing the need for expensive hospital care, and $11.00 over the child's lifetime by avoiding the medical, social, and educational costs associated with preventable lifelong disabilities. Every dollar spent to immunize children has been shown to save more than $10.00 by reducing the incidence of serious illness and death. Every dollar spent on family planning saves more than $2.00 by averting unintended pregnancies, thereby reducing public health and welfare costs that would have been incurred in the year following birth.

Three Signs of Our Health System's Inadequacy

Eroding Maternal and Infant Health Status

The need to strengthen our nation's investment in health care for low-income children is graphically underscored by the recent erosion in key maternal and child health indicators. Between 1984 and 1985, the most recent year for which complete data are available, many such indicators worsened.

Infant mortality: In 1985, following several years of slowing progress in reducing the infant mortality rate (deaths in the first year of life), the national rate of decline ground to a halt. The 1985 infant mortality rate among babies of all races was 10.6 deaths per 1,000 live births. According to the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, this was "not a statistically significant" decline compared with 1984's rate of 10.8.

Infant mortality improvement is seen as a sensitive indicator of a nation's health status. After rapid decline in U.S. infant mortality rates during the late 1960s and the 1970s, this improvement first slowed and then stopped in the 1980s.

The 1985 national rate of neonatal mortality (deaths within the first twenty-eight days of life) was 7.0 deaths per 1,000 live births. This rate was unchanged from 1984, making 1985 the first year since at least 1960 that this national neonatal mortality rate failed to drop.

Moreover, this overall lack of progress for all infants masked an even more troubling 3 percent nationwide increase in neonatal mortality among black infants (from 11.8 to 12.1 deaths per 1,000 live black births). Overall, the nonwhite neonatal mortality rate (for blacks, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, and others) also increased, from 10.2 to 10.3.

Not since 1964, prior to the advent of critical public health programs such as Medicaid and community health centers, have neonatal mortality rates among black and nonwhite infants increased. In 1985 black infants were 1.98 times more likely than white infants to die during the neonatal period—the widest neonatal mortality "gap" since at least 1950 (the first year for which such a ratio can be computed) when it was 1.43 to 1.

While infant death rates attributable to unpreventable causes were virtually identical for black and white infants in 1985, black infants suffered much higher rates of mortality from conditions considered preventable or probably preventable. For example, the ratio of black-to-white death rates for unpreventable congenital anomalies was 1.01 to 1, but it was 3.50 to 1 for prematurity and low birthweight, and 2.63 to 1 for pneumonia and influenza, all of which are often preventable.

U.S. international standing on infant mortality: In 1985 the United States' infant mortality rate placed it nineteenth in the world, behind less affluent countries such as Finland, Spain, and Singapore. Even when only white infant mortality in the United States is compared with other nations' overall rates, the United States ranked only fourteenth, behind Hong Kong and Japan. Even worse, when considered separately the U.S. black infant mortality rate was twenty-eighth worldwide and thus worse than the overall infant mortality rates of such nations as Cuba and Bulgaria and equal to those of Poland and Costa Rica.

Maternal mortality: In 1985 the overall national maternal mortality rate (deaths during pregnancy or within forty-two days after the end of pregnancy from any pregnancy-related cause) was 7.8 deaths per 100,000 live births. But the black rate of 20.4 and the overall nonwhite rate of 18.1 were three to four times as high as the rate for white women (5.2). Moreover, between 1983 and 1985 black and nonwhite maternal mortality rose by 11 percent and 10 percent, respectively, while white maternal mortality declined by 12 percent.

Low birthweight and prematurity: Between 1970 and 1979, the percentage of infants born at low birthweight (weighing less than 5.5 pounds) decreased 13 percent nationally. However, between 1980 and 1983, the percentage of low-birthweight births failed to decline at all. Following a slight

Infant Mortality Rates, by Race, U.S., 1940-1985

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite Black	Nonwhite Total	Ratio of Black to White
1940	47.0	43.2	72.9	73.8	1.69
1941	45.3	41.2	74.1	74.8	1.80
1942	40.4	37.3	64.2	64.6	1.72
1943	40.4	37.5	61.5	62.5	1.64
1944	39.8	36.9	59.3	60.3	1.61
1945	38.3	35.6	56.2	57.0	1.58
1946	33.8	31.8	48.8	49.5	1.53
1947	32.2	30.1	47.7	48.5	1.58
1948	32.0	29.9	45.7	46.5	1.53
1949	31.3	28.9	46.8	47.3	1.62
1950	29.2	26.8	43.9	44.5	1.64
1951	28.4	25.8	44.3	44.8	1.72
1952	28.4	25.5	46.9	47.0	1.84
1953	27.8	25.0	44.5	44.7	1.78
1954	26.6	23.9	42.9	42.9	1.79
1955	26.4	23.6	43.1	42.8	1.83
1956	26.0	23.2	42.4	42.1	1.83
1957	26.3	23.3	44.2	43.7	1.90
1958	27.1	23.8	46.3	45.7	1.95
1959	26.4	23.2	44.8	44.0	1.93
1960	26.0	22.9	44.3	43.2	1.93
1961	25.3	22.4	41.8	40.7	1.87
1962	25.3	22.3	42.6	41.4	1.91
1963	25.2	22.2	42.8	41.5	1.93
1964	24.8	21.6	42.3	41.1	1.96
1965	24.7	21.5	41.7	40.3	1.94
1966	23.7	20.6	40.2	38.8	1.95
1967	22.4	19.7	37.5	35.9	1.90
1968	21.8	19.2	36.2	34.5	1.89
1969	20.9	18.4	34.8	32.9	1.89
1970	20.0	17.8	32.6	30.9	1.83
1971	19.1	17.1	30.3	28.5	1.77
1972	18.5	16.4	29.6	27.7	1.80
1973	17.7	15.8	28.1	26.2	1.78
1974	16.7	14.8	26.8	24.9	1.81
1975	16.1	14.2	26.2	24.2	1.85
1976	15.2	13.3	25.5	23.5	1.92
1977	14.1	12.3	23.6	21.7	1.92
1978	13.8	12.0	23.1	21.1	1.93
1979	13.1	11.4	21.8	19.8	1.91
1980	12.6	11.0	21.4	19.1	1.95
1981	11.9	10.5	20.0	17.8	1.90
1982	11.5	10.1	19.6	17.3	1.94
1983	11.2	9.7	19.2	16.8	1.98
1984	10.8	9.4	18.4	16.1	1.96
1985	10.6	9.3	18.2	15.8	1.96

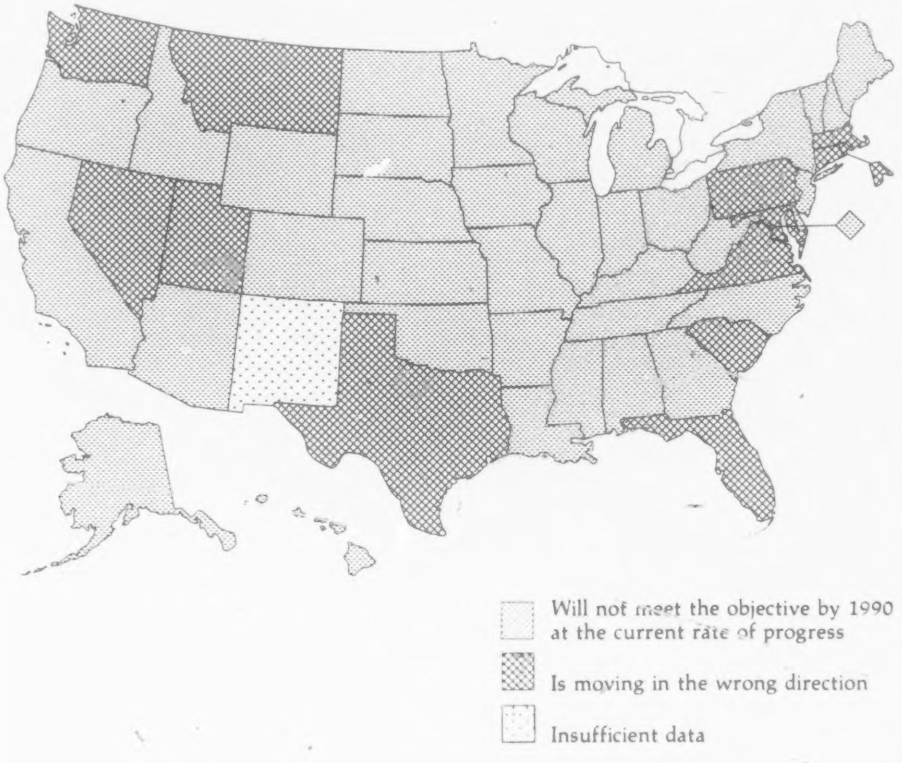
Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

improvement in 1984, the incidence of low birthweight rose in 1985, returning to 1980 levels. A national increase in the incidence of low birthweight had not been seen previously in the United States since 1961. This increase was accompanied by a nationwide rise in prematurity.

Adequacy of prenatal care: Between 1984 and 1985, the percentage of all women who received early prenatal care (beginning in the first trimester) declined, and the percentage of women who received either no care or none until the last three months of pregnancy rose for the fourth time since 1980.

But this measurement does not give a complete picture of the adequacy of prenatal care. Good quality maternity care depends on two other factors. It must be provided regularly and continuously, and it must be of very high quality—care that addresses both the woman's pregnancy and her overall health. A more complete measurement of prenatal care is adequacy, developed for the National Institute of Medicine in 1973 by Dr. David Kessner and others, which takes into account not only when care begins but also how much care is provided during pregnancy. Under the Kessner Index, only seven in ten women, and only one in every two black and nonwhite women, received prenatal care in 1985 that could be considered even minimally adequate.

Progress Toward the Early Prenatal Care Goal, All Races, 1985



░ Will not meet the objective by 1990 at the current rate of progress

▩ Is moving in the wrong direction

⠿ Insufficient data

The Nation Will Fail To Achieve Many of the Surgeon General's Key Goals for Our Children's Health

The nation's lack of progress or, in some cases, outright regression on maternal and infant health measurements and childhood immunization means that the nation will fail to meet many of the health goals set by the Surgeon General of the United States for 1990. These modest goals were established in 1979 and reaffirmed by the Reagan Administration in 1984. An examination of the rate of progress between 1978 and 1985 in these areas yields disturbing findings.

Goal:

- By 1990 infant mortality should be no more than nine deaths per 1,000 live births, and no county and no racial or ethnic subgroup should have a rate that exceeds twelve per 1,000.

Status Report:

- The Department of Health and Human Services found in December 1986 that "based on progress to date, achievement of this objective (infant mortality) is questionable." Based on the 1983-1985 rate the department projected a 1990 rate of 9.2. Assuming continuation of recent trends, the objective definitely will not be met for key racial and ethnic subgroups, including blacks.

Goal:

- By 1990 no more than 5 percent of infants should be born at low birthweight, and no racial or ethnic subgroup should have a level higher than 9 percent.

Status Report:

- The nation will not meet this overall objective and will not meet it for black and nonwhite infants. Between 1984 and 1985 we actually moved in the wrong direction.

Goal:

- By 1990, 90 percent of all pregnant women should begin prenatal care in the first three months of pregnancy.

Status Report:

- The nation will not meet the Surgeon General's objective on early prenatal care.
- No state will reach the prenatal care goal at its current rate of progress. Fourteen states are moving in the wrong direction.

Goal:

- By 1990, 90 percent of all children should complete by age two the basic immunization series for measles, mumps, rubella, polio, diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis.

Status Report:

- The nation will not reach this objective or even come close. In 1985 a smaller percentage of children age two and younger were fully immunized against polio, measles, rubella, mumps, diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus than in 1980.

A Slump in Childhood Immunization Rates

The rate of immunization of our nation's children against preventable diseases generally declined between 1980 and 1985, reversing progress toward the Surgeon General's goals in this area (see below) and inviting outbreaks of a range of diseases.

Progress Toward the Surgeon General's Objective for Full Immunization for Children Age Two

Year	Polio*	Measles	Rubella	Mumps	DTP*
1980	80.7	83.0	83.2	80.2	87.0
1981	80.9	81.5	83.9	79.1	87.6
1982	78.6	84.3	81.7	79.0	88.4
1983	78.6	83.9	81.9	78.1	88.4
1984	74.2	81.7	76.7	78.4	85.8
1985	76.7	81.7	77.3	78.9	85.8
1990 Objective	90.0	90.0	90.0	90.0	90.0

*Full immunization at this age is defined as three or more vaccinations.

Source: Data from Centers for Disease Control, U.S. Immunization Survey.

Polio: The polio vaccine must be administered through a series of four doses given between birth and age seven in order to achieve full and lasting immunity. But between 1980 and 1985, the percentage of American children ages one to four who had received no polio vaccine at all climbed from 2.5 to 3.6 percent. Among nonwhite children, this figure nearly doubled, from 5.4 to 9.7 percent, and 25 percent were not fully immunized. The proportion of younger children (younger than one) not fully immunized for their age against polio was 20.4 percent in 1985. Among nonwhite infants, a staggering 41.5 percent were not adequately immunized, up from 26.8 percent in 1980.

Diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis: Immunizing a child against diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis (DTP) requires administration of three dosages by the time a child is a year old and five dosages by age seven. Between 1980 and 1985, the number of children younger than one not fully immunized against DTP climbed by 10 percent, from 15.8 to 17.3 percent overall. The percentage of nonwhite infants not fully immunized climbed by more than two-thirds, from 21.0 to 35.2 percent.

Mumps: A single vaccination recommended for administration at age eighteen months fully immunizes a child against mumps. In 1985 fewer children age two and younger were immunized against mumps than in 1980. However, between 1980 and 1985 progress was made in reducing the percentage of children ages one to four years old who had received no dose of mumps vaccine.

Measles and rubella: As with mumps, a smaller proportion of children age two and younger received the recommended vaccination in 1985 than in 1980. Between 1980 and 1985, virtually no progress was made in reducing the percentage of children ages one to four who had received no dose of measles vaccine, and the proportion of children of that age receiving no rubella doses increased.

Sexually Related Health Problems Among Teens

More than half of all teens are sexually active today, putting them at risk of a number of adverse health outcomes, from sexually transmitted diseases (including AIDS) to too-early and unintended pregnancies.

Sexually transmitted diseases: Sexually active adolescents ages fifteen through nineteen suffer the highest overall rates of sexually transmitted diseases among any age group of Americans. The risk of disease is estimated to be two to three times higher for teens than for individuals age twenty or older.

- In 1986 alone, about 216,000 cases of gonorrhea were reported among teens ages fifteen through nineteen. Roughly one-quarter of all reported gonorrhea cases occur in teenagers. More than 3,100 cases of syphilis were reported among the same age group. Among children ages ten to fourteen, about 8,000 cases of gonorrhea and more than 150 cases of syphilis were reported in 1986.
- Chlamydia is the country's most prevalent and fastest growing sexually transmitted disease. If untreated, chlamydia can result in pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) and sterility in women and can cause pneumonia and death among babies born to such women. An estimated 1 million teens suffer from chlamydial infections each year.
- The spread of sexually transmitted disease endangers infants, as well. Recent Centers for Disease Control reports found that, after eight years of steady decline in the 1970s, the annual number of reported cases of congenital syphilis (transmitted from the pregnant mother) among infants rose from 108 in 1979 to 360 in 1986. Infant pneumonia, of which maternal chlamydia is a major cause, is one of the ten leading causes of infant death.
- In 1986 alone more than fifty cases of AIDS were reported among thirteen- to nineteen-year-olds. In addition, because AIDS symptoms often take several years to appear, many of the more than 2,700 adults in their twenties who were reported to have AIDS in 1986 probably became infected with HIV (the virus that causes AIDS) as teenagers. Indications are that in some areas of the country as many as eight of every 1,000 young adults are testing positively for the virus. One way to slow the spread of AIDS is to use a barrier form of contraception: the condom. However, many teenagers do not do so. Their failure to follow this safeguard significantly increases their risk of HIV infection.
- Heterosexual men and women account for about 7 percent of the total AIDS cases reported to date and are expected to account for more than 9 percent of the total cases by 1991. By 1991 more than 3,000 AIDS cases will have been diagnosed in infants and children, the vast majority of these cases involving transmission of the disease to them as fetuses. A recent study revealed that one in every sixty-one New York City babies tests HIV positive, with infection rates ranging as high as one in forty-three in certain neighborhoods.

- Minority populations, particularly black and Hispanic populations, are at increased risk of AIDS. While blacks make up only 12 percent of the U.S. population, they account for 25 percent of all persons with AIDS. Six of ten American children suffering from AIDS are black.

Teenage pregnancy: Each year 1 million American teens become pregnant—one of every eleven women age fifteen through nineteen, and one of every four sexually active women of that age.

- While American teens are no more likely to be sexually active than teens in Great Britain, France, or Canada, their pregnancy rate is twice as high as the rates found in these countries and three times as high as that in Sweden. Although black teen pregnancy rates are higher than white rates in the United States, the pregnancy rate among white U.S. teens alone is higher than the rate among teens of all races in several other industrialized countries.
- Eight of ten teen pregnancies are unintended.
- In 1985, of the estimated 1 million teen pregnancies in this country, about half resulted in births, roughly 40 percent ended in abortions, and the remainder ended in miscarriages.

Abortion: Teenagers account for more than one-quarter of the abortions performed in the United States each year.

- In 1983 teens ages fifteen through nineteen had nearly 400,000 abortions. Teens age fourteen and younger accounted for nearly 16,000 additional abortions that year. Three out of five teens faced with an unintended pregnancy choose not to have the child.
- Prevention of premature sexual activity and unintended pregnancy is key to reducing the prevalence of teen abortions. More than 300,000 unintended pregnancies could be averted each year if sexually active teens who use contraceptives used them consistently. Pregnancy rates among teens who were sexually active actually declined by 6 to 7 percent during the late 1970s, in part because of the sharp increase in contraceptive use among this group.

Millions of American Families Cannot Gain Access to the Health Insurance and Medical Care They Need

Nine-year-old Molly is deaf in her left ear.

"I feel like it was my fault," says her mother, thirty-two-year-old Kay. "I did the best I could by treating the ear infections myself, but it wasn't good enough. Now she's deaf in her left ear and there isn't anything that can be done for her."

Molly's ear infections began six years ago when her family lived near St. Cloud, Minnesota. The first year, her father Lee, now thirty-three, had a job as a carpenter and was making enough money to afford health insurance. Then he got laid off and the health insurance ended, but not Molly's ear infections.

Kay got a job at a factory and Lee picked up odd jobs, but there still wasn't enough money to buy health insurance. To add to their worries, an old back injury of Lee's flared up, preventing his working full time.

> "That's when I started taking Molly to the doctor only when the infections seemed really bad. I would save some of the medicine from one bout, knowing we would need it later and that we might not have the money to take her back to the doctor," Kay says.
>
> Today, the family is better off. Lee is working regularly and gets health insurance benefits for his family. Molly has a little sister, Julie, who is three and gets health care under Lee's insurance plan.
>
> It is Molly who shows the scars of what it is like not to have adequate health care. Molly's deafness is always there to remind her family of the horrors of no health insurance.
>
> Testimony from a 1986 hearing in Minnesota on access to health care

Decent health care is very expensive in this country. Total spending on health care among Americans has skyrocketed, rising from 6 percent of the Gross National Product (GNP) in 1965 to 11 percent of the much larger 1987 GNP—a greater share of GNP than many other western industrial countries spend to obtain comparable or better health outcomes. The United States spent a record $440 billion on health care in 1987.

Despite this massive expenditure, the health of millions of American children is eroding, primarily because the uneven distribution of health care and health insurance in our nation shortchanges low- and moderate-income children and pregnant women.

Millions of American families and children are forced to go without necessary care because they cannot afford it. Many—especially lower income working families and unemployed families—are covered by neither private nor public insurance. Others are insured for only a portion of each year.

Buying medical care has become so expensive that access to health insurance has become a crucial determinant of access to health care: among low-income children, those who are uninsured receive only about one-half as much medical care as those with health insurance. Yet both our private and public health insurance systems have widening cracks. Between 1982 and 1985, the number of uninsured Americans grew by 15 percent (from 30.3 million to 34.8 million), and the number of uninsured children grew by 16 percent (from 9.6 million to 11.1 million).

The Private Insurance System

Private health insurance payments constitute the single largest means by which non-elderly Americans pay for the health care they need. In the United States most private insurance is provided as an employment-related fringe benefit. Seventy-five percent of all privately insured Americans are covered by employer-based plans.

Employer-provided coverage is an extremely important component of employee compensation for three reasons. First, premium costs are held down because coverage is furnished on a group basis. Second, most employers who do provide coverage pay for all or most of the monthly premium for employees and their families. Third, the value of employer-paid premiums is not treated as taxable income to the employee.

Together, these benefits mean that an employee who gets employer-paid insurance receives an invaluable benefit and receives it for either no cost or for significantly less than he or she would have to pay in the open market with after-tax dollars, only to receive less adequate coverage. Generally, the higher the employee's income, the more likely that he or she will receive employer-paid coverage, with better benefits and (because he or she is in a higher tax bracket) greater tax savings.

The cost to the federal government of subsidizing private insurance is substantial. According to Alain Enthoven of Stanford University, a leading health economist, when all tax breaks for private health insurance were added together, the total federal price tag in 1986 came to $50 billion in lost tax revenues, making private insurance the second largest federal health program after Medicare and nearly twice as large as the federal share of Medicaid. This price tag does not include the additional lost state tax dollars that result from parallel state tax breaks.

When employer-paid private insurance is available, it meets much of the cost of major health care expenses for the employees and, to a lesser but considerable extent, their spouses and children. But a child's access to this private health care system depends on whether and where his or her parents work. First, the system obviously excludes the unemployed and their families. Second, it does not help members of families—usually at the lower end of the wage scale—headed by parents whose employers do not offer their employees subsidized health insurance coverage as a fringe benefit. For example, 30 percent of all employers who pay the minimum wage to most of their workers offer them no health insurance. Third, the system excludes children when employers either do not offer coverage to employees' dependents or offer only an unsubsidized plan with monthly premium costs that are unaffordable for lower income workers.

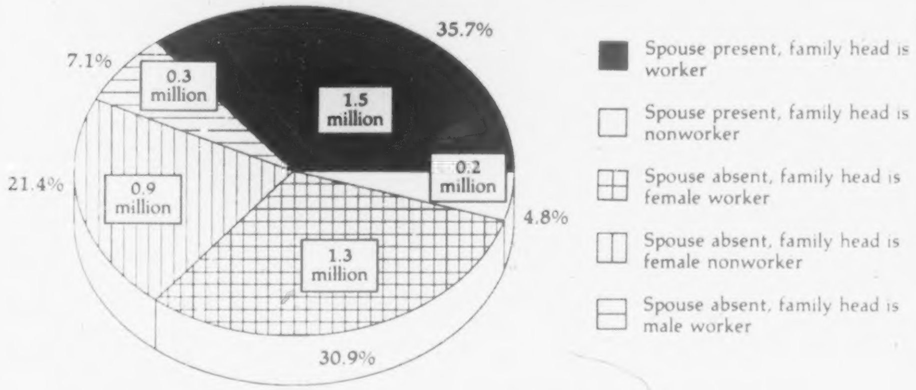
Not surprisingly, therefore, low-income adults and children are the groups least likely to be privately insured. Their dilemma is compounded because they are the group least able to afford to pay for even routine prenatal or pediatric care out-of-pocket. In 1985 two-thirds of uninsured persons and three-quarters of uninsured children had family incomes less than 200 percent of the federal poverty level. One-third of uninsured children had family incomes below the federal poverty level.

Because many employers with lower wage employees do not insure their workers, a high proportion of the uninsured live in families that work. In 1985, 70 percent of the uninsured were either full-time, full-year workers or the spouses or children of such workers. A child living in a poor working family has only one-half the chance of a non-poor child to be insured privately.

Declining Private Health Insurance in the 1980s

There are three main reasons that the number of privately uninsured families has risen dramatically in the 1980s. First, job growth has been in the service sector (often non-unionized), while manufacturing industries have lost jobs. Lower wage service sector jobs (especially part-time jobs) that do not offer insurance account for an increasing proportion of all employment.

Second, even among employers that do make health insurance available, a growing number are choosing to subsidize less or none of the cost of coverage. Among the most significant contributing factors over the past five years to the disinsurance of children has been reductions in the share of premiums paid by employers. The subsidy for family coverage has been the most frequent target of such cuts. In a recent survey, one-third of employers reported a reduction in their contributions toward their employees' family



Children Under Age 18 Without Health Insurance Living in Poverty by Family Type, 1985

Note: The number of uninsured poor children living with a single male nonworker is too small to be statistically reliable.

Source: Employee Benefit Research Institute tabulations of the March 1986 Current Population Survey.

coverage. The other side of the equation—employee contributions—rose about 50 percent, according to a study of private sector workers.

Millions of employees have been asked to shoulder a larger share of premium payments, at the same time that millions are also taking home smaller paychecks. The premium cost burden helps explain why 60 percent of poor workers have private insurance but only 50 percent of children in poor working families are privately insured. One in five uninsured children lives with a privately insured head of the family.

Families whose employers do not subsidize the cost of their monthly insurance premiums can find themselves effectively uninsured. The cost of covering a family under even an employer-provided plan easily can surpass $3,000 annually. Even before the 1980s, at the peak of their contributions to the cost of insurance, employers paid only 75 percent, leaving families to pay the rest—an untenable burden for lower income households. Just 25 percent of a $3,500 annual family premium is $875—well more than 10 percent of the gross annual income of a minimum wage employee.

Exacerbating the effect of the first two factors is the growing number of children living in single-parent families. Between 1976 and 1983 the number of children living in such families grew by 24 percent, from 5.3 million to 6.6 million, and the number of children living in two-parent families declined slightly. By definition, single-parent families do not have two employed parents living in the same household, thereby reducing the possibility that at least one parent will have employer-based health insurance that covers dependents. The likelihood that children living in single-parent families will be privately insured is also lower because such households are almost always headed by women, who are more likely to be working at low-paying jobs that offer no fringe benefits.

Lower income families without any employer-provided coverage face impossible choices. They cannot afford to go without insurance and pay for necessary services on a fee-for-service basis. But they also cannot afford to buy insurance on an individual basis. A family plan purchased privately costs thousands of dollars a year. Moreover, insurers routinely refuse to cover any family member who is already ill before the family applies for insurance.

Even families that do have private insurance coverage often find that it increasingly fails to meet their needs. Sometimes pre-existing conditions are excluded from coverage. Sometimes prenatal care is excluded also: the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1979, which prohibited exclusion of routine maternity benefits from private plan coverage, exempted firms with fewer than twenty employees, and such firms employ a large proportion of the nation's workers, especially women. And 90 percent of all employer-sponsored health plans still do not cover routine physical exams—a particular problem for children, since they especially need regular physical and dental exams and preventive treatment.

Prepaid health plans like those provided by health maintenance organizations are an increasingly popular insurance option and often claim to emphasize preventive health coverage. But they are far less prevalent among firms that employ primarily low-income workers. Indeed, health maintenance organizations traditionally have avoided marketing their services to less affluent populations whose members may be more likely to have pre-existing health problems.

The lack of comprehensive coverage and high deductibles and coinsurance payments deter utilization of medical care by families of limited means, greatly reducing a lower income child's likelihood of receiving preventive health care. A privately insured poor child is 1.5 times less likely than a poor child whose health care is paid for through Medicaid to receive preventive health care during the year. Even among poor children with disabilities, those who are privately insured use less health care than those who are insured under Medicaid. Often a poor, privately insured child's medical needs are as likely to go undiagnosed as they would be if his or her family were completely uninsured.

Other restrictions featured in many insurance plans leave families unprotected against the potentially astronomical costs of a catastrophic illness. It is not uncommon for families with gravely sick infants or children to find that their children have used up their lifetime plan coverage in a few years, or even months. A job change may mean that their children's coverage is delayed or denied altogether by the new benefit plan's pre-existing condition exclusion clause.

At the same time that lower income families have suffered the ill effects of weakened health insurance coverage, federal tax subsidies for employer-sponsored private health care continue to provide substantial benefits to better-off families. The federal government underwrites some of the cost of employer-paid insurance by not treating premiums as part of employees' salaries for tax purposes. A disproportionate share of this tax relief goes to upper-income families because excluding a benefit from income is worth more to well-to-do families in higher tax brackets and because high-income earners on average have more generous (and therefore more expensive) health insurance plans.

The federal government also offers several other medical cost tax shelters and deductions that primarily benefit better-off Americans. For example, individuals who directly pay medical bills that are a large proportion of income can get a tax deduction, but only if their income is enough to make claiming the deduction worthwhile. Impoverished families are six times as likely as upper-income families to experience catastrophic health costs, when the term "catastrophic" is measured as a percentage of family income (as most experts believe it should be). Yet poorer families are far less likely to be able to claim such costs as tax deductions. Eighty percent of the $2.5 billion total in such write-offs claimed in 1982 went to persons with family incomes of more than $20,000.

Another shelter commonly used by higher income Americans is a so-called "flexible spending account," which allows them to use untaxed dollars to pay for health care costs not covered by insurance. The average tax bracket for persons with flexible spending accounts in 1986 was 36 percent. Thus, this benefit overwhelmingly aids wealthy and upper-middle-income families.

Medicaid and Other Public Health Programs for the Poor Do Not Bridge the Insurance Gap

The United States has no uniform public health insurance program for lower income families with children that parallels Medicare's blanket coverage of the elderly and the long-term totally disabled. Instead, we have a patchwork of health programs that currently do not have sufficient funds to reach even a majority of uninsured families and children.

Medicaid: The only non-military federal program offering insurance-like benefits to families with children is Medicaid, the nation's largest grant-in-aid program for the poor. Enacted in 1965, Medicaid was planned primarily as an additional benefit for recipients of Aid to the Aged, Blind, and Disabled (which later became the Supplemental Security Income program) or Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Therefore, the program for most of its history has covered mainly those persons whose particular personal or family characteristics (such as disability or living in a single-parent household) and deep poverty qualify them for cash public assistance.

Medicaid has long failed to require states to cover millions of very poor children who do not meet the AFDC program's definition of "dependent." This definition limits the program's help to children who live in families in which one parent is absent, dead, incapacitated, or (in about one-half of the states) unemployed under a narrow definition. Although the federal government has provided states with several options designed to allow them to broaden Medicaid coverage for pregnant women, infants, and children, many states consistently have refused to exercise these options. For example, seventeen states still fail to provide Medicaid coverage for children older than five who live in two-parent families, no matter how poor they are.

The linking of mandatory Medicaid eligibility to AFDC financial eligibility standards narrowed the program's reach even further in the 1970s and early 1980s because most states have allowed their AFDC eligibility levels to fall further and further below the federal poverty level. For example, a child living in a family of three with an income of more than $118 per month—15 percent of the 1987 federal poverty level—cannot qualify for Medicaid in Alabama.

Hundreds of thousands of additional children lost their Medicaid coverage due to the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981, which both eliminated the law's previously required coverage of children ages eighteen to twenty-one who formerly had received AFDC and severely curtailed AFDC (and thus Medicaid) benefits for poor working families.

As a result of these limitations and cut-backs, the percentage of poor children covered by Medicaid has fallen dramatically in the past decade, from 66 percent in 1976 to 49 percent by 1986.

Medicaid's impact also is weakened by many states' failure to provide adequate levels of benefits, especially in the case of extremely sick children who are in need of intensive care. Although Medicaid's mandate to the states to provide comprehensive preventive care to children makes the program far stronger in this respect than most private insurance plans, federal law allows states some latitude in determining the amount, scope, and duration of treatment. Seventeen state Medicaid programs currently place arbitrary limits (as few as twelve days per year) on the number of inpatient hospital days they will cover, regardless of how sick a child is. Moreover, many states maintain such low levels of physician reimbursement that in many communities virtually no provider (especially obstetricians) will treat Medicaid patients.

Other Federally Funded Public Health Programs

Several other federally funded public health programs provide direct grants to states and communities to develop health care systems to serve particular needy populations.

The Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant: This federal grant program primarily funds state and local public health clinics that provide free or low-cost basic maternity and pediatric care to millions of poor and near-poor women and children each year. The program also provides medical care to thousands of ill or disabled children who have special health care needs. One-quarter million pregnant women and millions of children were served by clinics and providers funded wholly or in part by Title V in 1985.

Community and Migrant Health Centers: Nearly 600 federally funded Community and Migrant Health Centers served more than 5 million persons in 1986. About two-thirds of those served were children or women of childbearing age. Eighty percent had family incomes less than 150 percent of the federal poverty level.

Title X Family Planning Program: Family planning clinics funded by the Title X Family Planning program served more than 5 million women of childbearing age in 1987. More than 80 percent of the patients served have family incomes of less than 150 percent of the federal poverty level. The appropriate timing and spacing of pregnancies is crucial to maternal and child health. The family planning program, therefore, is vital not only because it has reduced the rate of unintended pregnancy (by an estimated 800,000 pregnancies in 1981 alone), but also because it has been a key factor in reducing infant mortality.

Immunization: Federal immunization grants are used to purchase and administer life-saving vaccines to millions of American children. In 1986 the federal immunization grants program purchased more than 16 million doses of the vaccines.

While These Public Health Programs Have Been Effective and Saved Money, Their Funding Levels Are Very Inadequate

These and other public health programs, including Medicaid and efforts funded wholly with state and local revenues, have been remarkably effective in serving needy Americans. They have played a major role in helping more poor mothers and children get health care. In 1963, prior to the creation of such programs as Medicaid and Community Health Centers and the expansion of maternal and child health services under Title V, only 63 percent of pregnant women in America began prenatal care during the first trimester of pregnancy. By 1979 that figure had grown to 76 percent. Between 1964 and 1975 poor children increased their use of physician services by 74 percent, so that by the late 1970s publicly insured low-income children were visiting physicians nearly as frequently as other children.

Predictably, the improved access to health care resulted in improvements in health. The nation's rate of low-birthweight births, which had been rising, declined from 8.3 percent in 1965 to 6.8 percent in 1980. While overall infant mortality fell only 15 percent from 1950 to 1965, it fell by 49 percent between 1965 and 1980. The death rate among black infants dropped only 5 percent in the fifteen years before Medicaid, but it plummeted by more than 50 percent in the fifteen years that followed.

The savings from Medicaid's preventive services are substantial. Researchers have demonstrated that every dollar spent to provide comprehensive maternity care for Medicaid-eligible pregnant women saves two Medicaid dollars in the first year of their babies' lives alone, because of reductions in low-birthweight rates and a consequent reduced need for hospital care. Ongoing preventive care for Medicaid-eligible children has cut overall program costs nearly 10 percent for the children who receive it.

The immunization program also has chalked up remarkable successes. Through this effort, smallpox has been eradicated and the incidence of such fatal and crippling diseases as diphtheria, pertussis, congenital rubella, measles, mumps, and polio have been reduced drastically. Our nation has achieved up to a 99 percent reduction of these infectious diseases that previously led to suffering, permanent impairments, and death.

The advent of the measles vaccine, for example, has caused a revolution in child health. Virtually every American child born before the mid-1960s contracted measles. In addition to the discomfort of the infection, which lasted one to two weeks, an afflicted child faced the added risk of such complications as ear infections, pneumonia, brain damage resulting from encephalitis, and death. The vaccine has meant that 80,000 children who would have died in the past twenty years are healthy and thriving today because they did not contract measles.

Instead of hundreds of thousands of measles cases in the United States each year, fewer than 3,000 cases occurred annually from 1981 to 1985. Institutions serving children with severe mental retardation have had 80,000 fewer patients in the past two decades because of resulting reductions in the number of children suffering brain damage.

While they have made a crucial difference for public health—especially the health of many of our very poorest families—these federal public health programs are hampered by limited funding and often arbitrary eligibility rules. None of them can take the place of comprehensive insurance coverage, since none is sufficiently funded to reach the whole target population or to provide more than a minimal amount of high-cost physician or hospital services or assistance for costly prescribed drugs.

During the 1970s, when many federal health programs achieved their highest funding levels in real terms, they still reached only a fraction of the women and children in need of them. Since 1980 their effectiveness has been curbed severely by federal budget cuts and freezes. While some of the funding lost early in the 1980s has been restored in more recent years, most of these health programs have not received enough funding to keep pace with inflation, much less meet the additional demand for their services caused by increases in poverty and disinsurance. The Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant, Family Planning, and Migrant Health Center programs all are operating on funding levels below the amounts needed to maintain their services at 1981 levels. Community Health Centers are operating at levels that barely match those of 1981.

The inadequacy of these programs leaves millions of women and children uninsured and unserved. A 1986 CDF survey of maternity and routine pediatric services offered by state maternal and child health agencies revealed the following:

- Of the forty-eight states that reported offering publicly subsidized maternity care programs (generally through Title V), only thirteen had made such services available statewide. In only one was there enough funding to serve even the state's own very modest definition of its target population.
- Only twenty-three states paid for hospital deliveries for even selected categories of uninsured pregnant women, although twenty-eight states admitted that hospitals within their own borders have turned away uninsured women in labor. Another twenty-three reported that hospitals refuse to arrange for delivery service in advance for uninsured women who cannot pay a preadmission deposit (either all or part of the bill).
- Only thirteen states maintained public pediatric clinics on a statewide basis, and none of these was able to provide more than basic preventive services. Treatment for a strep throat, or a pair of eyeglasses, or routine dental care was unavailable at most pediatric clinics.

Another public program that recently has been robbed of some of its effectiveness by inadequate funding is one of our proudest success stories: the child immunization program. Its funding has failed to keep pace with either demand or skyrocketing vaccine price inflation, a lag destructive to accomplishing the program's mission.

From the time the polio vaccine became available in the 1950s, the federal government has assumed a leadership role in financing childhood immunizations. Generally, only about one-half of all childhood vaccines are financed through the private sector, underwritten either by the patient's family or private insurance. The remainder are publicly financed through a combination of federal and state programs—primarily the federal program giving immunization grants to states, but also Medicaid, the Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant program, and the Community and Migrant Health Centers programs.

In recent years, it has cost more to keep up our public immunization effort. First, the number of children younger than six has increased during the past decade, from 18.8 million in 1979 to 21.7 million in 1986. Second, the number of uninsured children—more likely to need publicly funded immunizations—increased from 9.7 million in 1979 to 11.1 million in 1985. Third, the cost of vaccines skyrocketed in the 1981-1986 period. For example, in 1986 measles vaccine cost nearly three times as much per dose as in 1980.

But throughout the 1980s, federal immunization grants to the states have not kept pace with these pressures. Neither the Reagan Administration nor Congress moved to expand funding levels significantly until FY 1985. While the funding levels for the program were sizably increased for FY 1987 (from $45.3 million in FY 1986 to $75 million), this increase was insufficient either to boost federal immunization efforts to adequate levels or to resume the 1970s pattern of progress on immunization rates. Even more disturbing, for FY 1988 Congress failed to fund the program even at FY 1987 service levels.

The result is that our nation is able to vaccinate fewer and fewer children. Each year in the 1981-1986 period fewer doses were administered in the public sector than in each year from 1978 to 1980. The 1986 total is estimated to be only 80 percent of the doses delivered in 1979.

Rather than intensify federal efforts in response to this erosion, the Reagan Administration has ceased collection of the data that show unmet need for immunizations. Despite the fact that surveillance has been identified as an essential element of immunization efforts, the Administration as of 1986 discontinued the U.S. Immunization Survey (USIS), the only report that provided an annual snapshot of childhood immunization levels.

Recognizing the Effectiveness of Public Health Programs, Policymakers Recently Increased Investments in Medicaid by Broadening Eligibility

Between 1984 and 1987 Congress made a series of improvements in Medicaid, a hopeful change of direction after the disastrous reductions in coverage that were made by the Reagan Administration and its congressional supporters in the early 1980s. Policymakers at all levels of government watched with concern as these cuts were followed by downturns in key health indicators such as prenatal care delivery. A new consensus gradually is emerging at all levels of government that the traditional rules arbitrarily limiting Medicaid coverage primarily to AFDC families, which include only a fraction of poor children and parents, are simply inappropriate in an era when so many millions of low-income persons, from both working and non-working families, are uninsured.

The federal reforms have in some cases required states to expand Medicaid eligibility and in other instances given them options to do so.

- Congress approved progressively broader legislation in 1984, 1986, and 1987 that requires states to provide Medicaid coverage to any pregnant woman or any child younger than seven who has a family income below AFDC eligibility standards, regardless of the composition of their family. Previously states were free to exclude children and pregnant women from very poor families that were disqualified from AFDC solely because both parents were in the home or because of some other arbitrary rule unrelated to their poverty and need for health care.
- With the strong support of both the Southern and National Governors' Associations, Congress passed a law in 1986 permitting states for the first time to provide Medicaid to pregnant women and to children (younger than five) with family incomes above state AFDC financial eligibility levels but below 100 percent of the federal poverty level. In 1987 Congress passed additional legislation that permits states to extend Medicaid to pregnant women and infants with family incomes less than 185 percent of the federal poverty level and to accelerate inclusion of older children whose coverage was made optional in 1986.

These federal reforms, taken together, are a significant first step toward the restructuring of Medicaid from what was essentially a companion to welfare into a basic public health payment system for persons without access to private insurance.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

The President's FY 1989 budget proposals, while appearing to contain some modest funding increases for maternal and child health efforts, in fact generally keep programs' funding at existing levels that are grossly inadequate. Further, the President has proposed no significant measures to alleviate the desperate lack of access to decent health care that now afflicts millions of poor women and children in America.

Medicaid: While the President's budget does not ask Congress to enact laws to reduce or increase the program, the Administration proposes to cut $400 million from the program through "administrative" savings. In actuality these are proposals to change regulations and harm Medicaid recipients by: narrowing the scope of Medicaid-funded services that are provided to severely retarded children residing in intermediate care facilities; placing new eligibility limits on certain state medically needy programs; and limiting the ways in which states can generate matching funds for Medicaid dollars and thereby expand their programs. Moreover, despite the fact that half the states still fail to exercise their option to cover all poor pregnant women and young children through Medicaid, the Administration proposes no initiative to move in the direction of assuring such coverage.

Maternal and Child Health Block Grant: The President's budget proposes to fund the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant at $561 million for FY 1989—up to its full authorization level and $34 million more than its FY 1988 funding level of $527 million. However, after factoring in inflation this funding level still leaves the program operating some 18 percent below its FY 1981 level. The Administration seeks no increase in the program's authorization level, despite the setbacks to maternal and child health revealed by the most recent mortality, prenatal care, birthweight, and prematurity data.

Community and migrant health centers: The President proposes to add $20 million to the programs in FY 1989 for a very modest infant mortality reduction initiative. This initiative was begun in FY 1988 by Congress and would furnish enriched services to 15,000 to 20,000 pregnant women and infants—approximately 15 percent of the women and infants now served. No new patients could be added to existing center caseloads, however, because the President proposes to freeze community health centers' base funding at their FY 1987 level of $400 million. Migrant health centers' base funding actually would be cut to $44 million—or $1 million below their FY 1987 amount. In real dollar terms, this would mean that community and migrant health centers would be operating at 18 and 32 percent (respectively) below FY 1981 funding levels.

Immunizations: The President proposes to increase funding for the immunization grants program from $86 million in FY 1988 to $93 million for FY 1989—a $7 million increase. Because of vaccine cost inflation, this modest boost is only sufficient to enable the program to provide the same number of dosages that were furnished in FY 1988. It would do nothing to reverse the decline in the proportion of children adequately immunized against disease.

Family planning: The President's budget would freeze family planning funds at $140 million, the same funding level as in FY 1988 and $6 million below FY 1987 funding levels. In real dollar terms, the program would be operating at 43 percent below its FY 1981 funding levels.

CDF Recommendations

The nation simply cannot make adequate progress in maternal and child health while so many millions of families are excluded from necessary medical care by poverty and lack of health insurance. The breakthroughs in Medicaid policy that have occurred within the past several years must be broadened and placed on a schedule that is kept in synch with new national maternal and child health goals—and a commitment to accomplish those goals. Without a firm commitment to improving health services and access, child health improvement goals are no more than a "wish list."

CDF recommends:

- Through changes in federal and state law, all states should provide Medicaid coverage to all pregnant women and children younger than eighteen with family incomes below the poverty line, without regard to family composition.
- Every state should have a Medicaid program for families with children that permits otherwise uninsured families with incomes of more than 100 percent but less than 200 percent of the federal poverty level to purchase public health insurance coverage on a sliding fee basis. All employers should be mandated either to underwrite health insurance for their employees or to contribute toward the cost of this program.
- No medically underserved area of the country should be without community and migrant health centers and specialized maternity and pediatric health service delivery programs. Congress and the President must enact sufficient funding increases over the next five years to permit development of health centers and Title V Maternal and Child Health projects in all underserved areas.
- Congress must act immediately to deal with the immunization crisis, approving policies and budgets that can assure an adequate system for providing childhood immunizations. Meeting the Surgeon General's Objectives for 1990 will require a commitment such as was made during the late 1970s: continued increases in funding levels for the vaccination program and other key child health programs to compensate for vaccine price inflation; aggressive efforts to improve and sustain immunization levels; studies of disease outbreaks and their causes; and public education campaigns regarding the importance of childhood immunization. Further, the immunization surveillance system dropped by the Reagan Administration must be restored immediately or replaced by a comparable and improved annual survey.
- The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) should be funded sufficiently so that every eligible woman and child is served.

Health: Funding and Budget Requests, FY 1981-FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	MCH Block Grant	Community Health Centers	Migrant Health Centers	Family Planning	Immunization[1]
FY 1981 actual	$456.7	$323.0	$43.2	$161.7	$31.0
FY 1982 proposed	347.5	—[2]	—[2]	—[2]	—[2]
FY 1982 actual	373.8	281.2	38.2	124.2	34.6
FY 1983 proposed	347.5	—[2]	—[2]	—[2]	28.9
FY 1983 actual	373.0	295.0	38.1	124.0	39.0
FY 1984 proposed	373.0	—[2]	—[2]	—[2]	41.9
FY 1984 actual	398.0	337.0	42.0	140.0	41.9
FY 1985 proposed	407.0	—[2]	—[2]	—[2]	46.0
FY 1985 actual	478.0	375.0	45.3	142.0	54.0
FY 1986 proposed	478.0	—[2]	—[2]	—[2]	54.0
FY 1986 actual	478.0	400.0	45.4	143.0	57.0
After Gramm-Rudman	457.0	396.0	40.9	136.8	56.9
FY 1987 proposed	478.0	—[2]	—[2]	—[2]	56.0
FY 1987 actual	478.0	400.0	45.4	142.5	87.3
FY 1988 proposed	478.0	400.0	45.4	—[2]	94.0
FY 1988 actual	526.6	382.9	43.5	140.0	98.0
FY 1989 proposed	561.0	400.0[3]	44.4	140.0	102.0

	FY 1989 Current Policy	FY 1989 Proposed	Change from Current Policy	Percent Change
Medicaid	$32,732.6	$32,319.6	-$413.0	-1.3

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[1] Includes not just grants but also surveillance and stockpile funds.

[2] Proposed to repeal, include in block grant; funding would have been cut by 25 percent in FY 1982, increased by less than 1 percent in FY 1983, and remained level for FY 1984; the block grant proposed for FY 1985 would have shown a slight increase of 2.2 percent; the block grant proposed for FY 1986 would have been funded at FY 1985 levels; the block grant proposed for FY 1987 would have been funded $26.2 million below these programs' FY 1986 pre-Gramm-Rudman level and $8 million below the FY 1985 level; the block grant proposed for FY 1988 would have included the Family Planning Program and previously separate administrative costs; the combined amount ($146.0 million) would have been cut by $2.0 million.

[3] For base program. Does not include $20 million proposed for an infant mortality initiative.

FAMILY INCOME

Every child needs and deserves to grow up in a household that can provide the necessities of life: adequate food, clothing, shelter, heat, and health care. These are the fundamental underpinnings of security, allowing a child to grow up healthy and strong.

Yet, in this affluent nation, millions of children are growing up in households that cannot afford to provide these basic necessities. In 1986 more than 12 million children—more than one out of every five American children—were poor. In 1979, by contrast, far fewer children (fewer than 10 million) were poor.

Child poverty is not just a spreading problem in our society—it is a rapidly deepening one, as poor children become poorer. A growing number now live in families whose incomes are far below the federal poverty line. This official demarcation of poverty was set at $8,737 per year for a family of three in 1986. But more than 5 million poor children in 1985 lived in families whose incomes were less than half that bare bones subsistence level, up from fewer than 3.5 million in 1979. By 1986 the median income of poor families was $3,882 below poverty.

Child poverty has worsened, overall, during the decade of the 1980s. The most significant increases came between 1979 and 1982, when more than 3 million additional children joined the ranks of America's poor. The economic recovery has since begun to lift children out of poverty, but the improvement has been so slow that, at our current rate of progress, it would take seven more years of recovery to return even to the unacceptably high poverty rate of 1979. Six years into an economic recovery, our nation's children are suffering a poverty rate that is higher than at any time since 1965.

Certain groups of children are hardest hit by poverty. Children younger than six are more likely to be poor than older children: almost one out of four younger children is poor today. Minorities suffer a higher rate of child poverty: 42.7 percent of all black children and 37.1 percent of all Hispanic children were poor in 1986.

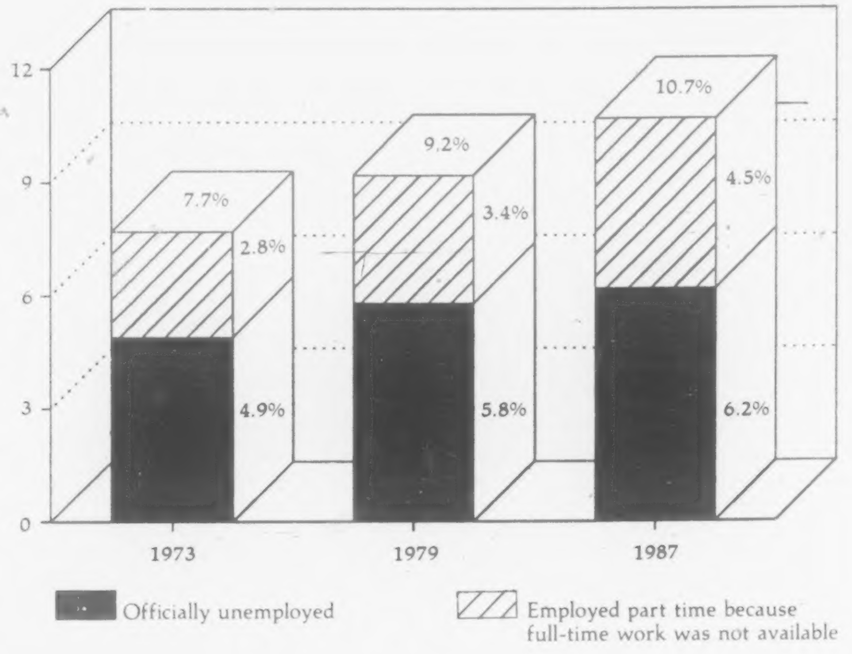
There are four major reasons why so many American children are growing up in poverty today.

Many working families cannot earn enough to stay out of poverty: Most parents of poor children are working or are trying to find work. Roughly two-thirds of the heads of poor households whom our nation expected to be in the work force (those who were not disabled, elderly, or single parents nurturing small children) worked either full time or part time during all or part of 1984, according to research by Sheldon Danziger and Peter Gottschalk of the Institute for Research on Poverty.

Despite their efforts to earn a living, more and more poor families are not able to bring home a big enough paycheck to meet even their most basic needs. The number of working people whose earnings left them in poverty swelled from 6.5 million in 1979 to 8.9 million in 1986, an increase of 36 percent. Larger numbers of hourly workers are now in jobs so ill-paid that full-time, year-round work would leave even a small family in poverty. One major reason wages have dipped so much at the low end of the scale is our nation's failure in recent years to adjust the minimum wage to keep pace with inflation. Young workers in particular have been saddled with declining wages in the late 1970s and the 1980s. In 1986, 31.5 percent of families with a family head younger than twenty-five were poor.

Unemployment and underemployment plague many families: Despite the economic recovery, unemployment continues at close to 6 percent, historically high for so late in a recovery. Many fathers and mothers are among the 6.5 million Americans who are unemployed, the 5 million who are underemployed (forced to accept part-time work because full-time work is not available), and the close to 1 million more who are jobless but not counted among the unemployed because they have given up looking for work.

Percentages of Labor Force Officially Unemployed or Employed Part Time Because Full-Time Work Was Not Available, 1973, 1979, 1987



The number of female-headed households has grown dramatically: One in every five American children now lives in a female-headed household, up from 12 percent in 1970. Children living in these families in 1985 were five times as likely to be poor as those living in other families. These families are economically crippled because women's earnings are still so much lower than men's and because high child care costs deplete their meager incomes.

One potential source of much-needed support for such families—child support payments—often fails to materialize. Too frequently, children are denied the child support that is due them, or are paid hopelessly inadequate amounts. Only 61 percent of all single mothers in this country have been awarded support, and data show that poor mothers are even less likely to receive awards. Compliance with award orders is low: one-quarter of the women who were due payments in 1985 received nothing.

The federal "safety net" has been shredded: The nation's patchwork of programs designed to ease the plight of the poor today provides far less protection against poverty's harsh impact on children, due in significant part to destructive cuts and changes that occurred in the early 1980s. In 1979 nearly one of every five families that otherwise would have been poor was lifted out of poverty by government cash benefit programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), unemployment insurance, and Social Security. But by 1986 these programs lifted out of poverty only one in every nine families with children that otherwise would have been poor, according to an analysis of census data by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. Had the 1979 poverty reduction rate been maintained, nearly half a million families with children would have been spared the ill effects of living in poverty in 1986.

This chapter examines the struggle of America's poor families to provide adequately for their children, and looks at the federal government's action (or inaction) in such key areas as employment, wages, child support, and public assistance. It also explores more effective avenues for helping poor families and their children gain the income they need to survive.

Earnings for American Workers Have Fallen Significantly, Leaving Many Families Without Adequate Incomes

Paid employment is most American families' first line of defense against deprivation. Therefore, assuring enough stable jobs at decent wages must be an essential goal of national policy.

America's families today, however, face an increasingly difficult struggle to earn a decent living. After decades of rising earnings among families, progress has ground to a halt. The median income of all families in 1986 was $29,458, slightly less than the 1973 level in real (inflation-adjusted) dollars.

The stagnation of incomes of families masks a more troubling economic reality: average earnings for individual workers have fallen. As a result, more than one parent must work to maintain family income at a level comparable with that of one or two decades ago. For example, the average earnings of American men who work full time during the entire year fell substantially between 1973 and 1986—declining by 8.5 percent. (Median earnings for female workers, while still less than two-thirds of those of their male counterparts, rose by 3.9 percent during this period.) These earnings losses among men are in sharp contrast to the pattern of steadily rising male earnings that prevailed for the first three decades after World War II. Analyses by Frank Levy of the University of Maryland reveal that males entering their prime working years during the 1950s and 1960s saw their inflation-adjusted earnings rise by 25 to

30 percent over the course of a decade. Since 1973, however, these earnings gains for middle-aged men have been replaced by substantial declines.

American families have responded to eroding male earnings in many ways—sometimes by postponing marriage and in other cases by delaying having children or by going into debt. In more and more cases, both parents have entered the labor force rather than just one parent. Between 1973 and 1986 the number of mothers in the labor force who had children younger than eighteen increased by more than 50 percent, with the largest rise occurring among women in two-parent families.

This extra work effort has raised the incomes of two-parent families with children slightly above previous levels. (Their real median family income increased by 3 percent between 1973 and 1986.) Without such an effort, however, these families would have suffered substantial income losses.

Parents' increased work efforts have carried hidden costs. Expenditures for child care and other services necessary to send a second adult into the labor force reduce gains achieved through greater work effort. Both parents' lack of time for other family roles and responsibilities also adds to the social and economic strains on some families.

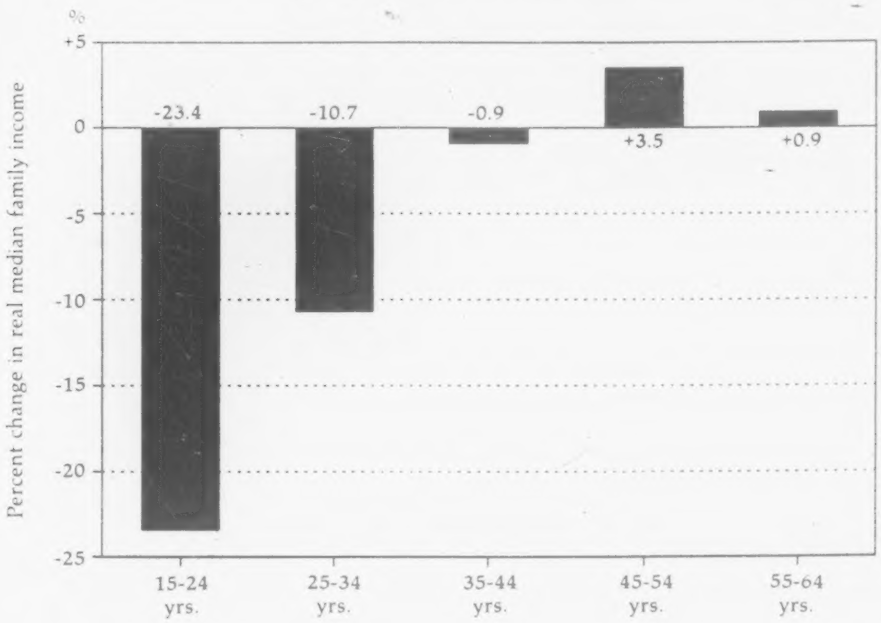
The increasingly crucial role of a second income in maintaining a decent family standard of living is reflected in the much bleaker prospects faced by single-parent families. The real median income of female-headed families dropped by more than 6 percent between 1973 and 1986, despite a significant increase in employment rates among this group. Families with only one parent simply did not have the capacity to compensate for the erosion of wages that has occurred since the early 1970s.

Moreover, the moderate overall decline in family incomes masks huge losses for particular groups—especially low-income Americans and young families. The poorest 20 percent of households received only a 3.8 percent share of all income in the United States in 1986, down from 4.1 percent in 1970. A three-tenths of one percentage point drop in this group's share of the national income may look modest, but in historical terms it is a major shift, and for the families involved it has been cataclysmic—a decrease of nearly 10 percent for those Americans who could least afford to lose ground. On the other hand, the top fifth of the nation's households increased their share of total family income to 46.1 percent in 1986 (an all-time high), reaping an extra $40 billion in added income as a result. The gap between the rich and the poor is now wider than at any time since the Census Bureau began collecting such data in 1947.

Among the nation's youngest families, which are just starting out, income losses have been especially dramatic. While real median family income for households headed by individuals forty-five to fifty-four years old rose by 3 percent between 1973 and 1986, those of young families (headed by individuals younger than twenty-five) fell by nearly one-fourth. Families headed by persons ages twenty-five to thirty-four also lost more than 10 percent of their real incomes during this period.

The worsening income status of young families clearly is linked to declines in the real earnings of young men and continued very low earnings of young women. Average annual earnings for twenty- to twenty-four-year-old males fell by more than 25 percent between 1973 and 1986, and earnings losses for male high school dropouts exceeded 40 percent. While women ages twenty to twenty-four experienced slight overall earnings gains as new career opportunities and increased labor force participation offset the effects of eroding wages, they still earn far less on average than their male peers. And one vulnerable group—young black women with less than a college education—suffered major real earnings losses during this period.

Percent Change in Real Median Family Income Between 1973 and 1986, by Age of Head of Household

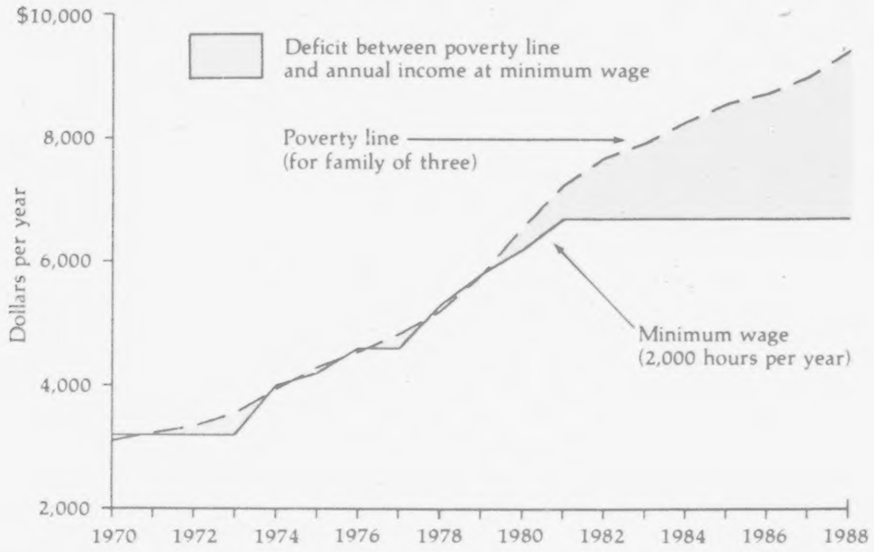


The worsening economic plight of young workers is particularly troubling because of the resulting harsh impact on the young children growing up in these families, many of them in poverty. Because young adults are less likely to marry when they are unable to earn enough to support families, more children now are being raised in single-parent households that have less ability to meet their basic needs. And as the earnings of young families plummeted, child poverty climbed, exacerbating a host of nutritional, developmental, and long-term social problems for the next generation.

Two Major Causes of Falling Real Wages

The declining value of the minimum wage: One important reason earnings at the low end of America's wage scale have been eroding has been the failure of Congress and the Reagan Administration to adjust the federal minimum wage to keep pace with inflation. As recently as 1979, earnings from full-time, year-round work at the minimum wage were sufficient to lift a family of three above the poverty line. But because the minimum wage has not been increased from the $3.35 per hour level it was when President Reagan took office, a minimum wage job in 1988 provides earnings that are less than three-fourths of what is needed to bring a three-person household out of poverty.

The number of jobs paying below-poverty wages has increased dramatically over the past decade. In 1979, 2.8 million hourly workers in America earned less than $2.90 per hour, the bare bones survival rate below which a worker could not support a spouse and one child above the poverty line



Lagging Incomes: The Poverty Line vs. the Minimum Wage, 1970-1988

even through full-time, year-round work. By 1986 nearly 15 million hourly workers earned less than the equivalent rate (nearly $4.50 an hour because of inflation) needed to do that today.

The loss of better-paying manufacturing jobs: Structural changes in the American economy have accelerated the shift toward low-wage employment, particularly among young and minority workers. Since 1979 more than three-fourths of all new jobs have been created in wholesale or retail trades and the service sector, while the nation has lost 2 million manufacturing jobs. The average retail job pays less than half as much as the average manufacturing job. Even with higher-paid professional positions factored in, average earnings in the entire service sector equal only two-thirds of those in manufacturing.

Workers with the least seniority (that is, minorities and younger workers) have been hardest hit by these industrial shifts. The proportion of employed males younger than twenty-five working in manufacturing fell by one-fourth between 1973 and 1986. Similarly, the share of young employed black men holding blue collar craft, operative, and foreman jobs has dropped by nearly one-half.

With so many of the new jobs providing inadequate wages, the ranks of the working poor have swollen. Nearly 9 million Americans who worked at some point during 1986—along with millions of their dependents—still remained poor. Of these workers, 2 million who were employed full-time, year-round were unable to escape poverty, an increase of roughly 50 percent since 1979.

Many Americans Cannot Find Jobs or Are Forced To Work Part Time

The final threat to adequate family incomes through work is the persistent joblessness that plagues substantial segments of our society. In

December 1987, 7 million Americans were officially unemployed—seeking work but unable to find jobs. More than 5 million others had been forced to accept part-time work because full-time employment was not available, and nearly 1 million more had stopped looking for work because their job prospects were too bleak. While the official unemployment rate for the nation as a whole has returned to its 1979 level, the proportion who are involuntary part-time workers each month still greatly exceeds the level in previous periods of economic recovery, rising by 60 percent since 1973.

Although the Reagan Administration brags that the nation's recovery from the 1981-1982 recession has created unprecedented numbers of new jobs, the rate of employment growth has been relatively weak by historical standards. From the end of the recession through December 1987, jobs have been added to the U.S. economy at a rate 29 percent less than in the expansion period following the 1974-1975 recession. If employment growth during the current recovery had matched the previous rate, nearly 6 million additional jobs would have been created in the past five years.

The relative weakness of the American economy even during the recovery also is reflected in the high percentage of new jobs that are less than full time. Roughly two of every five jobs created during the current recovery are part-time jobs. While full-time employment has grown by only 10 percent since late 1982, part-time jobs have increased by 42 percent.

Finally, the real strength of the current recovery continues to be restricted to the East and West Coasts, largely bypassing the southern and midwestern regions. In states such as Texas, Michigan, Arkansas, and West Virginia, the official jobless rate remains at levels traditionally associated with a severe recession (ranging from 7 to 10 percent). Lack of employment opportunities in these depressed regions, as well as in impoverished inner-city areas, still poses major barriers to economic self-sufficiency for millions of Americans.

In the past, the federal government has responded to persistent unemployment by making direct efforts to create jobs for those unable to find work, and by cushioning the ill effects of unemployment. But the Reagan Administration has chosen to abdicate any federal role in providing employment opportunities for the jobless. Moreover, the federal Unemployment Insurance (UI) system, which used to provide a safety net for many Americans who were out of work, has been weakened by budget cuts and structural changes in the economy to the point where only one-fourth of all unemployed workers receive any UI benefits, compared with between one-half and two-thirds in a typical month a decade ago.

Child Support Enforcement

All children have a right to be supported by their parents to the fullest extent possible. When a parent who can help support his or her child abdicates that role, government has a responsibility to protect and enforce the child's right to such support. While good child support enforcement alone cannot eliminate child poverty or the need for other income assistance, it can make an important contribution to many children's well-being. But the child support system our nation has established has yet to fulfill its responsibility to children.

Data from 1985 and 1986 reveal that the majority of divorced, separated, and never-married mothers were rearing their children with no financial help from the children's fathers. The Census Bureau reports that, as of the spring of 1986, 8.8 million mothers were living with children younger than twenty-one whose fathers were absent from the home. Although 61 percent (5.4 million) of these women had been awarded child support payments, many actually received none. Of those with awards who were due child support in 1985, only about one-half received the full amount due. One-quarter received only partial payment. One-quarter received nothing.

Women who are raising children alone often need child support to help meet their families' most basic needs for housing, food, and clothing. Nearly one-third of the women heading single-parent families (2.8 million women) had incomes below the poverty level in 1985. But these women have a worse than average chance of benefiting from child support: only about 40 percent of women living below poverty with children have ever been awarded support, compared with 61 percent for all women with children. Among women living below poverty who were due payments, fully one-third received nothing.

Even when poor female-headed families do receive child support payments, this much-needed help often is not enough to lift the family out of poverty. The mean child support payment received by women living below the poverty level with one child in 1985 was $1,112 per year (or only about $92 per month), compared with $1,679 per year (or about $140 per month) for women of all incomes with one child. In 1985 a family of three needed $8,573 just to reach the federal poverty level. If a child's subsistence level is assumed to be equal to at least one-third that amount ($2,857), the mean child support payments received for one child fell far short of the amount needed to meet a child's most basic needs that year.

The poorer the family, however, the larger the share of its total income child support provides. For women of all incomes with one child who received child support in 1985, payments made up less than 15 percent of their total average annual income of $14,151. But for women who lived below the poverty level with one child and received support, those payments represented almost one-quarter of their average annual total income ($4,531).

Many of the problems in collecting child support stem from the past failure of many states and the federal government to protect children's rights by aggressively pursuing support from absent fathers. The system's failure to establish awards and collect payments creates tremendous losses for the children and families involved. The federal Office of Child Support Enforcement (OCSE) reports that in FY 1986 alone, less than half of the $4.4 billion in total child support payments due were collected.

Paternity must be established before child support can be pursued on behalf of the many children born out of wedlock. Yet less than one-quarter of all women who have borne children out of wedlock have had legal paternity adjudicated. Census Bureau data reveal that only 18 percent of never-married women with children had child support orders in 1985. Forty percent of women with children living below the poverty level have never married, a rate almost twice that of all women with children.

Once paternity is established, child support awards and payments frequently follow. A recent analysis in Wisconsin reveals that, once paternity was adjudicated, children did receive support awards in 77 percent of the cases. Further, national statistics show that, once paternity was established and payments were ordered for children of never-married parents, child support payments were received in 76 percent of the cases. The national rate of awards and payments for never-married women is dragged down because in only a relatively small percentage of cases is paternity pursued and adjudicated.

The 1984 federal Child Support Enforcement Amendments set out to make substantial improvements in child support enforcement across the country by imposing some specific requirements on state systems. For example, states must provide mandatory wage withholding systems, establish expedited processes for obtaining and enforcing support orders, and permit the establishment of paternity at least up to a child's eighteenth birthday. Most of the new requirements were supposed to have been implemented by October 1985 (or, in some states, by the spring of 1986 at the latest). States also were required by October 1987 to have established guidelines for setting the amounts of child support awards.

State (and U.S. territory) efforts to comply with the new federal law have been spotty. OCSE reports that, as of December 1987:

- Twenty-nine had implemented (in theory but not necessarily in practice) all of the requirements regarding mandatory enforcement techniques and support guidelines.
- Sixteen had implemented the enforcement requirements but did not have support guidelines in place.
- Four had done neither.
- Five others still had their implementation plans under preliminary review by OCSE.

A study of FY 1986 collections gives a glimpse of the potential benefits the Amendments offer. Collections through wage withholding—one of the new Amendments' mandatory requirements—yielded $737 million during that period.

Another congressional reform (this one aimed at helping AFDC families), a 1984 law requiring state child support agencies to pass on to AFDC families the first $50 in child support received on their behalf, also is beginning to show results. OCSE reports that AFDC families received $242 million in child support payments in FY 1986 as a result of that provision.

Despite this progress, many of the problems that prompted the passage of the 1984 Amendments continue to plague the child support system. These include severe management and resource problems at the state and local level, resulting in excessive delays and the denial of services, failure to pursue paternity establishment, and inadequate child support awards in many cases.

AFDC: An Increasingly Inadequate "Safety Net" for Poor Families and Children

Families that cannot survive on their own incomes must turn to the wider community for help. But the public assistance our nation provides through its key income program for poor families, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), is not enough to meet even the most basic needs. For nearly two decades, ever-declining AFDC help increasingly has forced poor families to live in crowded, substandard housing at best, and to live in shelters, cars, or the streets at worst; to see their children go hungry at the end of the month when their cash and food stamps run out; to sleep on hazardous, makeshift bedding; to go without heat in winter; and to send their children to school inadequately clothed. Our nation's neglect of the poor puts millions of children at risk and shames us as a society.

- A 1986 study of twenty-six of the infant deaths in Kings County, New York, found that sixteen involved poor families. There was severe overcrowding in fourteen of the households. In four of six cases of heat-associated deaths, there were hazardous heating systems. In eleven cases, the bed in which an infant slept was defective or hazardous. The study reported the death of "a two-month-old girl who was placed on a plywood board covered by foam-rubber remnants by her fatigued mother, who had returned from work at 5:00 a.m. The mother shared the makeshift bed with the infant. At 6:30 a.m., the mother awoke and found that she was lying in a prone position on top of the infant, who was dead. The infant was wedged face down beneath her mother's chest, between two pieces of the foam rubber."

- A 1985 study of childhood mortality in Boston found that if the death rate of the poorest group of children had been similar to that of the wealthiest, more than one of every three children in the poorest group who had died would be alive. Deaths by fire, the leading cause of injury-related deaths, "showed large differentials between income groups," according to the report.
- A 1983 Maine study of childhood deaths found that in all age groups death rates for low-income children were much higher than for other children. The study noted that low-income children were 3.5 times more likely to die of disease-related causes, including congenital anomalies and perinatal conditions.

Death is the most dramatic outcome of poverty. Far more poor children survive but still show the crippling effects of poverty. Research by Dr. Barbara Starfield at Johns Hopkins University reveals that "poor children are more likely to experience many of the common health problems of children and have more ill effects from them." They are at increased risk of lead poisoning, iron deficiency anemia, hearing disorders, rheumatic fever, meningitis, functionally poor vision, gastroenteritis, and parasitic disease, among others. Poor children's average total hospital days are four times those experienced by children in the highest social class.

Poor children desperately need a safety net. AFDC, the largest program of cash assistance for poor families, was designed to protect them from the harshest consequences of poverty. It does not do that well. It does not even reach thousands of poor children whose family incomes through work and child support are inadequate to meet their needs. Families that do qualify for assistance do not receive enough to live in dignity, health, and safety.

Benefit Levels Are Far Too Low

AFDC benefits fall far short of meeting children's minimal survival needs. While there is wide variation among the states, AFDC need standards and benefit levels are wholly inadequate almost everywhere.

Although the federal government pays more than one-half of the cost of the AFDC program, each state sets its own eligibility and benefit levels. As a first step, the state defines the level of need it will use to determine eligibility for the program—the AFDC "standard of need." Then it decides how much of this need standard it actually will pay in AFDC benefits.

Theoretically, the AFDC need standard in each state should represent the dollar amount a family requires to maintain a minimum standard of living. But the reality is very different. As of July 1987, the need standard for an AFDC family of three was less than the 1986 federal poverty line for that family size in all but four states, and less than three-quarters of that bare bones level in all but nineteen states and the District of Columbia. Federal law does not require states to adjust their need standards for inflation, and they have lagged far behind the cost of living during the past two decades.

As low as these state standards are, the actual AFDC benefits states pay to poor families and children are often even lower. In twenty-three states and the District of Columbia, the maximum benefit for a family of three is less than 75 percent of the state's own standard of need. A few states like Louisiana, Texas, and Mississippi pay less than one-third of their need standards. Therefore, AFDC benefits fall even further below the federal poverty line than do standards of need. According to 1986 federal poverty guidelines, a family of three needs $728 per month for subsistence. Yet the maximum AFDC benefit for a three-person family in July 1987 was less than one-half of this poverty level in twenty-eight states. In only five states was the amount more than 80 percent of the poverty level. As of July 1987, the maximum AFDC grant plus the maximum value of food stamps still left a family of three below the 1986 federal poverty line—and usually far below that line--in every state except Alaska and California.

Benefit levels have become increasingly inadequate over the years because whatever modest adjustments have been made have not come close to keeping pace with inflation. The real value of the median state AFDC monthly benefit for a family of four fell by more than one-third between July 1970 and July 1987.

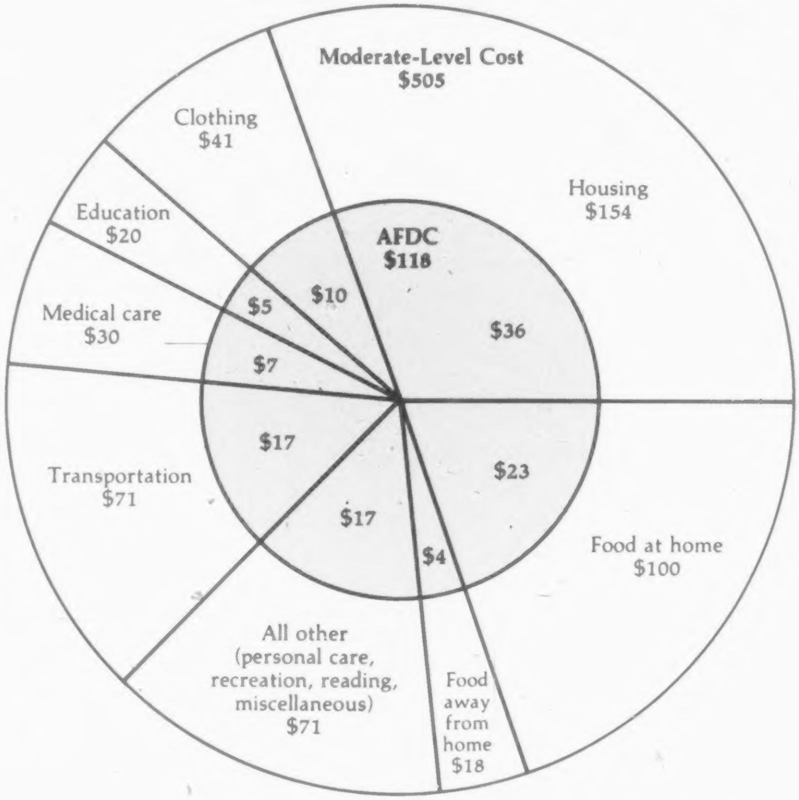
Depressed levels of public assistance have sharpened the contrast between what well-off American families and needy families can provide for their children. While AFDC never has been calculated to support poor children in middle-class comfort, the vast disparity between what moderate-income American families spend on their children and what our nation provides for poor children is profoundly troubling.

- Seventy dollars a month is the amount the U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that a family living in the urban Midwest at a moderate standard of living spent in 1986 just to meet a one-year-old's share of the family transportation costs. The average AFDC payment in Indiana for all of a child's needs was only $6.00 more—or $76 per month—during FY 1986.
- A moderate-level family's costs for providing just clothing and transportation for a twelve-year-old in the urban Northeast was estimated to be $105 per month in 1986. By contrast, Delaware spent an average of $94 per person per month in total AFDC benefits in FY 1986.
- Many parents spend more on diapers alone than some states provide to AFDC recipients to buy a child's diapers, shelter, clothing, and transportation, and to meet all other needs. According to a major manufacturer, the average cost of disposable diapers in 1986 was between $42 and $58 per month, depending on a child's age. Yet one child's pro rata share of an AFDC grant for a family of three in January 1987 was only $40 in Mississippi and only $51 in Tennessee.
- Many Americans spend more on their car payments each month than our nation spends to meet the needs of a poor child for a month. According to the National Automobile Dealers Association, the average monthly installment payment for a new car purchased in 1986 was $291— 2.4 times the FY 1986 average national monthly AFDC benefit per person ($120).

Our nation's puny investment in poor children also compares unfavorably with public spending to help other deserving groups of Americans.

- In the fall of 1984, average state and local spending for higher education for a full-time student was $3,765 per year. As of January 1987, a child's share of the median state maximum AFDC benefit for a two-person

Average Monthly Costs for Raising a Child at a Moderate Level, Compared With a Child's Share of the Median State AFDC Grant



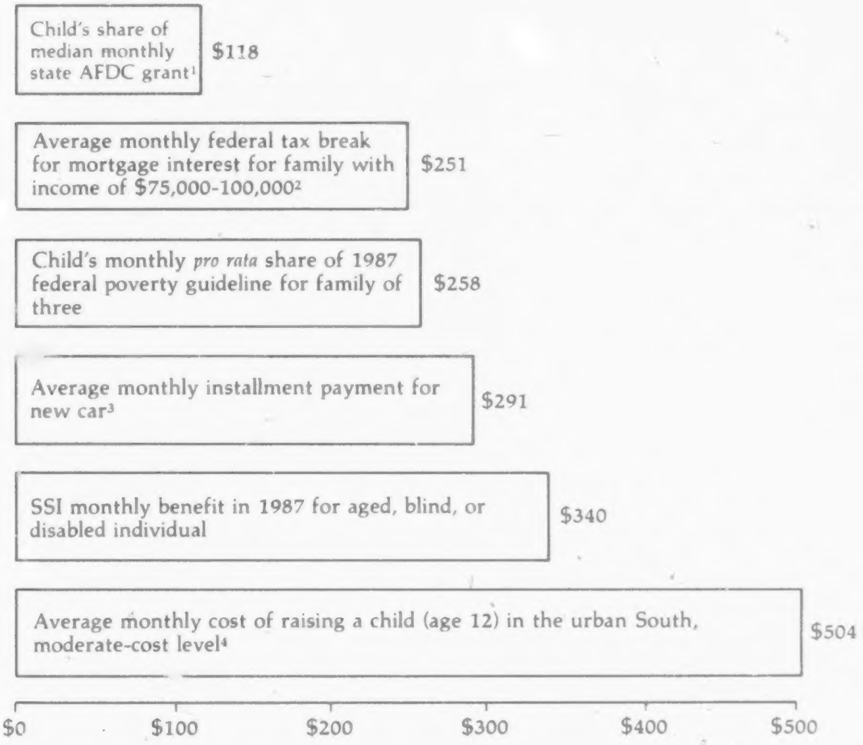
The outer circle of this chart shows what the U.S. Department of Agriculture computes to be the average monthly cost, by item, for a moderate-level family in 1986 to raise a twelve-year-old in the urban South. The inner circle divides a child's *pro rata* share ($118) of the median state maximum AFDC grant for a family of three ($354/month) in January 1987 and shows what an AFDC grant would provide for each of the same needs if divided proportionately. Figures rounded to nearest dollar.

family was $1,692 per year. Our underinvestment in poor families makes it less likely that a poor child will grow up with the means to benefit from our willingness to invest in higher education.

- In 1987 the monthly federal Supplemental Security Income benefit for a poor aged, blind, or disabled individual was $340. As of January 1987 an individual's pro rata share of the median national maximum AFDC benefit for a family of three was $118—close to one-third of that amount.

- As of the end of 1984, the average monthly payment to a widowed mother or father and two children from the Social Security program (a non-means-tested program) was $948.30—more than two and one-half times greater than the median national maximum AFDC benefit for a family of three in 1987.

AFDC Grants Compared With Poverty Line and Selected Other Federal Benefits and Family Expenditures



[1] *Pro rata* share of median state maximum grant for family of three, January 1987.
[2] Data for 1985; average mortgage interest deduction of $7,935. Income is adjusted gross. Assumes average 38% marginal tax rate.
[3] Data for 1986, National Automobile Dealers Association.
[4] 1986, United States Department of Agriculture, *Family Economics Review*.

Arbitrary Restrictions Exclude Many Poor Families From AFDC Benefits

Meager as AFDC benefits are, their help can mean the difference between inadequate housing and homelessness, or between a second-hand winter coat and no coat at all. But because of arbitrary restrictions on program eligibility, several large groups of very poor Americans are denied this urgently needed help.

Two-parent families: A family headed by two parents, both of whom are unemployed, is ineligible for any AFDC benefits if they live in Virginia but not if they live in neighboring Maryland. Virginia is one of twenty-four states that have not implemented a federal option to provide AFDC help to children in two-parent families who are in need because the principal earner is either unemployed or underemployed (AFDC-UP). Despite its destitution, the family could qualify for assistance in Virginia only if the mother or father left the home or became incapacitated.

Federal Energy Aid to Low-Income Families

Protection from the winter cold and, in some areas of the country, the summer heat is critical to the well-being of every child. Yet the costs of home energy put that protection beyond reach for many families with children.

Low-income households in more than half the states pay some $1,000 a year or more to cover their energy costs. The portion of the average low-income household budget devoted to home energy is approximately four times that of the average American household. Families that cannot pay their energy costs are threatened with loss of heat and electricity, homelessness, and even death as unsafe temporary heating sources are used in place of terminated utility services. To make matters worse, after years of relative price stability (although at extremely high levels for the poor), all major heating fuels are expected to increase in price during 1988.

The Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), a needs-based program to help the poor meet their energy costs and an important supplement to other federal income maintenance programs, has been subjected to repeated budget cuts. Even at its high point, LIHEAP reached only about one-third of the nation's eligible households, with an average energy assistance benefit of a little more than $200 (covering at best 25 percent of a family's home energy costs). But funding of LIHEAP since has dropped 37 percent from its high of $2.1 billion to $1.53 billion. Program funding was cut 16 percent in FY 1988 alone. Another crucial program, the Low-Income Weatherization Assistance Program to help families weatherize their homes and reduce energy costs, was funded for a number of years at $200 million but was down to $161 million in FY 1988. At that level it can reach only about 150,000 low-income households annually out of an estimated 15 million to 20 million eligible households.

A two-parent family of four living in Ohio is eligible for an AFDC grant, but only if a parent works no more than ninety-nine hours a month. AFDC for two-parent families is limited to those in which the principal earner is unemployed or underemployed (works less than 100 hours a month). If the parent works one more hour a month, the family would be completely ineligible for assistance, although 100 hours of work at the minimum wage would leave it destitute and raise its gross income to only 40 percent of Ohio's standard of need for a family of four. One hundred hours of work at minimum wage is an absolute disqualification for AFDC-UP, although it adds up to less than the standard of need for a family of four in every state that currently provides AFDC-UP benefits.

The failure to require that state AFDC programs cover poor two-parent families—and the ninety-nine hour limit in states that do cover the option—are among the most destructive gaps in the AFDC law, fostering family break-ups and deterring increased work efforts. In states that do not provide AFDC-UP coverage, needy two-parent families must rely on food stamps, private charity, and, in states that offer such benefits, federally matched emergency assistance grants (that provide only one month of benefits per year) or state and local general assistance. Children older than five in such families frequently are denied Medicaid coverage as well.

The total costs of mandating AFDC-UP coverage in all the states that do not provide it would be modest: $225 million for the first year, $440 million for the second, and $480 million for the third (including additional Medicaid costs). Yet this program substantially improves families' chances of staying together, as the experience of states that temporarily have discontinued their AFDC-UP programs shows.

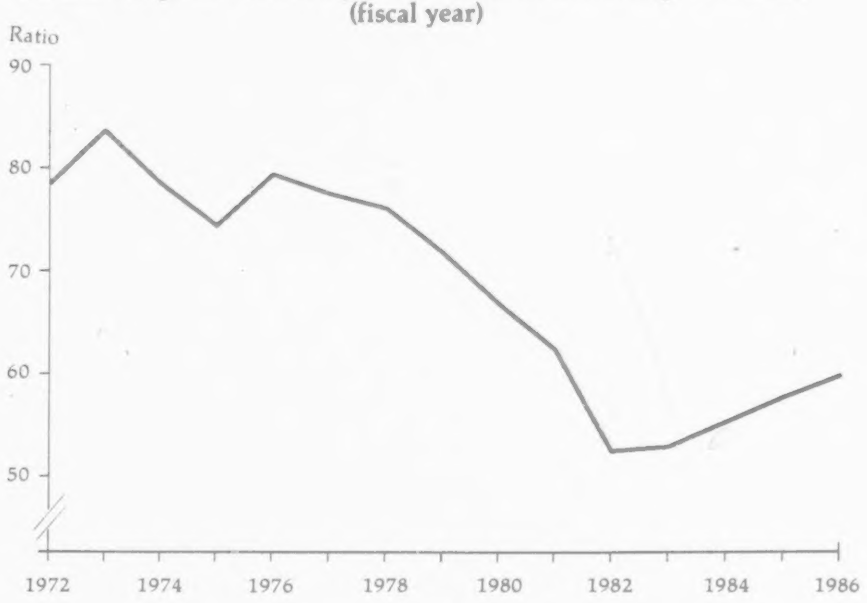
- When Iowa discontinued its AFDC-UP program in April 1981, 3,929 families were receiving AFDC-UP benefits. But in October 1981, an official of the Iowa Department of Social Services reported that 1,305 of these families had returned to the rolls as regular AFDC families, most of them newly eligible because the father had left the home after AFDC-UP benefits were cut off. Iowa has since reinstated AFDC-UP benefits.
- Washington State discontinued its AFDC-UP program in February 1981. A study by the state welfare agency found that just six months later, more than 15 percent of the families that had been receiving AFDC-UP had broken up through separation or divorce. One-quarter of the former AFDC-UP families had returned to the rolls as regular AFDC families. Of families that were receiving regular AFDC benefits, 65 percent were eligible because they had become single-parent families. Washington State has reinstated its AFDC-UP program.

Welfare legislation recently passed by the U.S. House of Representatives and legislation pending in the Senate would mandate AFDC-UP coverage in all states. Even if such legislation were enacted, however, many desperately needy two-parent families would continue to be denied coverage because of the highly restrictive nature of the AFDC-UP program. First, no matter how destitute, the family cannot qualify for benefits until its principal wage earner has been unemployed or underemployed for thirty days. Second, in any month during which the breadwinner works more than ninety-nine hours, the family is completely disqualified. Third, the principal earner in an AFDC-UP family must demonstrate that he or she meets a particular work history requirement: employment, receipt of unemployment compensation benefits, or participation in one of a handful of specifically defined training programs in six of the thirteen calendar quarters preceding application. This requirement makes it especially difficult for young parents to qualify, since they might have been in school (which does not count) or have faced insurmountable barriers to employment during most of the three years and three months before making their application. Further, families in which only the spouse with the lower earnings satisfies the work history requirement cannot qualify. Predictably, in view of these arbitrary limitations, the AFDC-UP program is not reaching many desperately needy two-parent families. In FY 1986, when families in states participating in AFDC-UP accounted for about 71 percent of the total national AFDC caseload, the number of families receiving AFDC-UP benefits made up only 10 percent of that caseload. The proportion is even lower in some states. In FY 1986 in Pennsylvania, AFDC-UP families made up only 6.9 percent of the state's overall AFDC caseload. In South Carolina they accounted for less than 1 percent.

Working poor families: The AFDC-UP 100 hours rule is only one barrier AFDC recipients face if they want to work. A later section of this chapter describes another major disincentive: restrictive rules for treatment of earnings that apply to both AFDC and AFDC-UP families. These rules, instituted in 1981 and softened only slightly since then, deny even the smallest AFDC supplement to most poor families with a working parent, even if wages alone leave the family far below the poverty line. In Montana, for example (where the monthly grant for three is $359, the same as the median three-person grant for all states) a parent of two children working full time at the minimum wage ($581 per month) would have received a $172 AFDC supplement if pre-1981 methods for counting earned income still were used; by contrast, he or she currently receives only $108 in AFDC benefits for the first four months while working, and is wholly ineligible after the fourth month. In many states, loss of the AFDC supplement also means loss of much-needed Medicaid benefits, an additional hurdle for families struggling to become self-sufficient.

Other needy families: Because federal law allows states the option to make arbitrary choices to exclude or include certain needy families, and because many states do not exercise the options to extend AFDC, basic subsistence benefits are denied tens of thousands of destitute parents and children.

AFDC Recipient Children per 100 Children in Poverty 1972-1986 (fiscal year)



- A poor family whose apartment is destroyed by fire is ineligible for any federally matched emergency assistance in New Hampshire, but eligible if the family lives in neighboring Vermont. In Vermont, as in twenty-four other states, the family can apply for and receive a one-month, once-a-year federally funded emergency assistance grant to help replace its possessions.
- A poor woman who is pregnant for the first time and cannot find work because employers are reluctant to hire a pregnant woman cannot qualify for AFDC help in Kentucky until her baby is born. Kentucky is one of seventeen states that have chosen not to provide AFDC to women pregnant with their first child. In neighboring Ohio, however, she would be eligible for an AFDC grant based on her pregnancy (a state option beginning with the sixth month of pregnancy).
- The seventeen-year-old high school junior in an AFDC family that lives in Florida will be removed from the family's AFDC grant when she turns eighteen, because Florida is one of ten states that do not provide AFDC coverage to eighteen-year-old students. The family's grant will shrink from $264 to $203 per month, creating even greater pressure on the daughter to leave high school for a job because the family will be less able than ever to make ends meet. But if the family lived in nearby Louisiana, or any of thirty-nine other states, the daughter would be eligible for help until she turned nineteen, as long as she was attending school and expected to graduate by then.

Education, Training, and Work Opportunities for AFDC Families Can Remove Barriers to Employment

AFDC can be a way station on the road to self-sufficiency instead of a dead end, but only if AFDC parents are provided adequate support and education, training, and work opportunities.

The foundation for economic self-sufficiency in adulthood is laid most effectively through providing all young people strong basic academic skills and preparation for the world of work. While such investments are most cost-effective when made early in life, later efforts to enhance the education, training, and work opportunities of parents receiving help from AFDC also pay off in human and economic terms. For millions of recipients who otherwise would be shut out of the labor market permanently because of severe barriers to employment, targeted interventions often can lead to stable jobs at decent wages. In addition, such efforts can save years of additional public outlays for basic income supports.

A Comprehensive Approach Is Necessary To Achieve Lasting Gains in Employment and Earnings

Effective strategies for helping AFDC recipients move into stable employment at adequate wages must address three root causes of poverty and dependency: education-related barriers such as illiteracy, limited English proficiency, weak basic academic skills, and lack of a diploma or GED; lack of access to key supports like vocational training, appropriate child care, and affordable health insurance; and the dearth of full-time jobs at wages adequate to support a family.

First, many AFDC recipients need remedial education and help in improving their basic academic skills in order to meet the entry requirements for training programs or jobs with a future. Three-fifths of all adults on AFDC have not completed high school. An Educational Testing Service study found that the majority of adults subject to AFDC work requirements in 1983 had reading and math skills below the eighth- or ninth-grade level, which placed many entry-level jobs beyond their reach. Young AFDC parents, who often face the bleakest job prospects, typically have very weak basic skills. Data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans indicate that the average AFDC mother between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one has reading skills below the sixth-grade level.

Second, educational programs must be accompanied by the child care, health insurance coverage, and other supportive services AFDC parents need to rejoin the labor force. Among all AFDC households, single women head nearly 90 percent, and fully three-fifths of their households include children younger than six. An AFDC mother cannot responsibly seek paid employment unless she knows that her children will receive appropriate day care and will continue to have access to health coverage after the family leaves the welfare rolls. Yet federal child care assistance available under the Title XX Social Services Block Grant cannot be stretched to serve all families receiving AFDC and in need of child care, much less those who are leaving the rolls—it already meets only a small fraction of the demand for this service among low- and moderate-income families. In addition, many AFDC recipients lose their access to Medicaid coverage even if they find jobs at extremely low wages, although such jobs frequently do not provide health insurance benefits.

Finally, a combination of vocational training and transitional job creation efforts is often necessary to help families move off the welfare rolls and escape poverty. In the absence of adequate basic skills and training in a specific career or occupation, most AFDC recipients are at the mercy of the so-called "secondary" labor market—the segment of the economy that offers less than full-time work (often of a temporary or seasonal nature), below-poverty wages, and no fringe benefits such as health insurance. Within depressed communities or economically struggling regions, job shortages also continue to stymie attempts by AFDC parents to gain a secure foothold in the labor market.

Until recently, work and training programs for AFDC recipients rarely addressed these three major barriers to self-sufficiency. Since 1967 the federal Work Incentive (WIN) program has provided limited funds to states for training and job placement of AFDC recipients. But the resulting state efforts have been too modest and loosely targeted to produce consistent and lasting employment gains. A 1986 study by the U.S. General Accounting Office found that most state welfare employment programs were spending a total of no more than $300 per participant (an amount equal to a single month's child care costs in many urban areas), and focused heavily on low-cost job search services while ignoring participants' needs for more intensive education and training activities or support services.

Recent research by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) on a low-cost job search and work experience program run in Cook County, Illinois; in 1985 illustrates the shortsightedness of superficial work programs for AFDC recipients. The Cook County program provided only minimal assistance to mandatory participants, requiring them to assume primary responsibility for conducting an independent job search and in some cases assigning them to unpaid work in public agencies. When compared with other AFDC recipients not enrolled in the program, according to MDRC findings, participants experienced no significant gains in employment or earnings as a result of these unaided work-related activities. MDRC's research suggests that the program's extremely low expenditure levels, ranging from a total of $130 to $160 per participant, were inadequate to generate improvements in the future employment prospects of AFDC recipients. In contrast, other state welfare employment demonstrations evaluated by MDRC which made more substantial investments in work-related programs have resulted in modest employment gains for participants that range from 5 to 8 percent.

Another low-cost approach—traditional "workfare" programs that require recipients to work at public service jobs without pay in exchange for their benefits—yields similarly disappointing results. Evaluations of the cost-effectiveness of "workfare" reaffirm the wastefulness of work programs that do not address the real barriers to employment faced by AFDC recipients. State-commissioned studies in Connecticut, Florida, and Georgia found that "workfare" programs squander taxpayers' money, with costs two to six times greater than any resulting benefits.

These findings underscore the counterproductive nature of proposals to impose rigid federal participation rates or quotas on state-administered welfare employment programs. Under such quotas, states would lose any real flexibility in designing welfare employment initiatives, of necessity spreading resources thinly and operating low-cost programs that may prove ineffective. In testimony before the Senate Finance Committee in October 1987, MDRC's president Judith Gueron reported that a pending congressional proposal mandating that 70 percent of all AFDC recipients (excluding only those with children younger than six months old) participate in work programs by FY 1996 would allow an expenditure per recipient of only $280 a year. Gueron warned Congress that "setting high participation standards without high levels of funding may lock states into providing uniform, very low cost services that do not benefit recipients, particularly the most high risk groups such as young mothers."

During the past several years, a few states have recognized that a more comprehensive approach is needed to reduce long-term reliance upon AFDC. Stimulated in part by greater flexibility allowed under 1981 amendments to the WIN program, a new generation of state welfare employment programs has emerged that moves in the direction of addressing the full range of barriers to employment faced by the more disadvantaged adults receiving AFDC. While many such programs remain untested and may contain serious flaws, the overall direction of this set of new state efforts seems promising.

Perhaps the best known and most fully developed state initiative providing education, training, and support services for AFDC recipients is Massachusetts' voluntary Education and Training (ET): Choices program. The ET program has combined remedial education, vocational skills training, and job placement assistance with major investments in child care and Medicaid coverage for a transition period after participants leave welfare. ET's comprehensive approach has helped 45,000 volunteers to move into jobs. The average hourly salary is $6.60, roughly double the minimum wage. Massachusetts' high employment rate clearly has enhanced the state's ability to marshal the resources for this effort and find private sector employment opportunities for participants. Yet the state's commitment to longer term investments in AFDC families remains impressive, and has demonstrated that adults on AFDC will participate voluntarily in employment-related programs if they are offered meaningful assistance to return to the labor market.

Other states have developed comprehensive initiatives, but because these have not yet been fully implemented, any assessment of their effectiveness would be premature. For example, California's Greater Avenues to Independence (GAIN) program, which requires participation by all AFDC parents with children age six and older, promises an array of education, training, and support services. But early implementation efforts already have demonstrated that GAIN's costs will run far higher than originally estimated, in large part because two-thirds of all participants in the program's early stages have been found to need remedial education services—more than three times the number anticipated. GAIN's county-administered structure also may lead to abuses and wide variations in program quality.

Washington State recently received congressional authorization to test its proposed Family Independence Program (FIP), which seeks to expand financial incentives for AFDC recipients to work and to strengthen essential support services for them while also streamlining state administration of the AFDC and food stamp programs. In New Jersey state officials have received waivers from the federal Department of Health and Human Services necessary to launch the REACH (Realizing Economic Achievement) program, a mandatory education, training, and employment program that targets services to young AFDC mothers and promises some transitional assistance to recipients who secure employment.

The Federal Government Must Become an Active Partner in Promoting Employment Among AFDC Recipients

Even as a few states embark on new welfare employment efforts, most states are doing little that is effective—and much that may be counterproductive—in this area. Some states currently impose inflexible work requirements on AFDC recipients without offering them meaningful help in meeting their educational, child care, or other needs or addressing their labor market problems. States are unlikely to develop more effective strategies in the absence of considerable new resources and a more active federal role in this important area.

The rationale for a strong federal-state partnership to enable adults on AFDC to secure stable employment at decent wages is compelling. Because the federal government pays the bulk of AFDC, food stamp, and Medicaid costs, it also stands to gain the largest share of savings achieved through welfare employment programs. Only federal support for more positive education, training, and employment programs can compensate for wide variations in economic conditions and public resources among states and for the ups and downs of the national economy. Only federal support can overcome the reluctance of some states to invest adequately in the needs of very poor, often disproportionately minority residents.

Despite the need for an aggressive federal role, however, the Reagan Administration and Congress have sharply reduced federal investments in education, training, and employment opportunities for AFDC recipients since 1981. WIN funding has been slashed by three-fourths during the 1980s (from $365 million in FY 1981 to $93 million in FY 1988), and the Administration repeatedly has called for the program's elimination.

As a result of changes approved in 1981, AFDC recipients also have little financial incentive to seek low-wage employment. Many economists and the Administration often stress that high income tax rates for middle class and wealthy Americans can discourage their work efforts sharply. Yet federal law continues to impose much more severe penalties—the equivalent of taxes—on AFDC recipients' earnings.

Before 1981 an AFDC-eligible parent could expect to have the first $30 of monthly earnings, plus one-third of remaining earnings disregarded in calculating his or her AFDC grant and eligibility status. These disregards meant that a poor worker whose income was extremely low could still receive a partial AFDC grant, as well as much-needed Medicaid benefits. But in 1981 these disregards were limited to four months duration, and diluted in impact as well. After four months of working, any earnings caused a virtual dollar-for-dollar reduction in AFDC benefits. Moreover, the revised federal law stipulated that families whose gross incomes exceeded 150 percent of the state's need standard—no matter how low it was—were ineligible, regardless of how poor they were after meeting their child care and other work-related expenses.

Congress improved these provisions very slightly in 1984 by lengthening the duration of the $30 (but not the one-third) disregard from four to twelve months, and by raising the cap on allowable gross income from 150 percent to 185 percent of the state need standard. Even with these improvements, however, many poor working families still are barred from receiving even partial assistance. In sixteen states the need standard is so low that a cutoff at 185 percent of the standard of need disqualifies many families whose income is below federal poverty guidelines, although their child care and other work-related expenses often reduce their available income to well below the state's need standard.

Even families that initially qualify for benefits because their gross income is below the 185 percent cap will lose benefits, or see them drastically reduced, when they lose the one-third work incentive disregard after four months of working. If families lose AFDC benefits, in many states they also lose Medicaid benefits. The net effect of these changes remains that our nation typically withdraws $1.00 of public benefits (or more if Medicaid benefits are lost) for every $1.00 earned—a staggering rate of "taxation" compared with the 28 percent rate at which we tax earnings of wealthy Americans.

Recent welfare reform efforts in Congress offer some hope of breaking this pattern. A series of incremental improvements in the welfare reform bill passed in December 1987 by the House of Representatives would provide a larger and more stable source of federal funding for education, training, and other employment preparation. The bill also would provide for essential child care services while participants are enrolled in education, training, or work programs or have left the welfare rolls for work. The House reform package also would restore financial work incentives for AFDC recipients and limit "workfare" programs to ensure that scarce federal funds are focused on education and training programs most likely to produce lasting returns.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

The Administration's FY 1989 budget proposals fail to address the root cause of poverty—inadequate family income. Other than in the area of child support enforcement, no forward steps are proposed in any of the areas where change is needed to address the problems facing poor children and families. No actions are proposed to bolster family incomes from work or to strengthen the safety net for the unemployed.

Further, the legislative proposals embraced by the Administration will prevent states from establishing cost-effective programs to enable poor children and families on AFDC to move toward self-sufficiency and will leave in place the current barriers to employment in the existing AFDC program. No steps are taken to build a welfare system that decently supports families that must turn to AFDC to survive. Rather, fiscal penalties assessed on states would likely force them to make harmful eligibility changes or benefit reductions in order to absorb these losses of federal funds.

Employment and Training

The Administration's proposals run directly counter to the increasing consensus that strategies to expand opportunities for increased self-sufficiency among poor families must begin with intensive efforts to improve AFDC recipients' basic academic skills and job skills. The Administration would undercut rather than expand current employment and training initiatives, eliminating the Work Incentive Program (WIN), under which Massachusetts and other states are demonstrating successful comprehensive education, training, and employment initiatives.

Instead, the budget includes $368 million to implement the Administration-supported AFDC Employment and Training Reorganization Act (H.R. 3200 and S. 1655), which already has been rejected by the House of Representatives. That proposed measure would require states to spread very limited funds among education and work activities for a very high proportion of their AFDC recipients, thereby preventing states from making more targeted and effective investments. Under the bill, regardless of the amount of federal funds appropriated by Congress, states would be required to provide education or work activities for 80 percent of all teen parents by FY 1990 and 70 percent of all other AFDC recipients by FY 1996—or about two and a half times current participation levels. Such high participation quotas would force states to spread funds so thinly that many participants would receive inadequate help and states would be deprived of the flexibility to design appropriate programs that target help to long-term recipients who have limited education and work experience. Further, the bill fails to provide necessary supports such as child care for AFDC parents struggling to participate in education, training, and employment programs. It would require AFDC parents with infants as young as six months old to participate in work-related programs while failing to guarantee adequate funds for child care services. It also fails to ensure continuing health and child care services for those who are able to leave AFDC for employment but still need this help.

The proposed Act also includes other provisions that are harmful to recipients and that have been included in prior Administration budgets. For example, it would require a never-married minor parent, with few exceptions, to live with his or her own parents in their home in order to be eligible for AFDC. Such a provision would hurt not only minor parents living in apartments but also those living with extended family members or in other supportive living arrangements.

Energy Assistance and Community Services

AFDC families and other low-income families and individuals are also threatened by the Administration's proposed cutbacks in the areas of energy assistance and community services.

The portion of the average poor family's budget devoted to energy is three or four times that of the average American household. In a number of states, an average low-income family's expenditures on energy are equal to 50 percent of AFDC benefits for a family of three. Federal aid, through the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) and the low-income Weatherization Assistance Program (WAP), is a critical, although limited, source of assistance. Yet the President proposes to cut LIHEAP by 22 percent, on top of a 16 percent cut in FY 1988. The $1.2 billion level proposed for LIHEAP is far below its FY 1984 funding high of $2.1 billion, and even then it was able to reach only about one-third of the nation's eligible households. Further, the Administration proposes eliminating the $161 million WAP.

The Administration budget rationalizes its further retreat from a federal commitment to aid low-income households in part by citing the existence in the states of "oil overcharge" monies recovered from the oil companies for violating price control regulations in effect in the 1970s. However, states are not required to put these oil overcharge funds into energy aid for the poor and it is apparent that, generally, states in fact are spending a relatively small portion (and in some cases, none) of these funds on LIHEAP or similar programs.

Another budget proposal, for a four-year phase-out of the Community Services Block Grant and other community services initiatives, also will have a negative impact on poor families. The first-year reduction in the block grant's funding would be 13.5 percent, from $326 million to $282 million in FY 1989. When coupled with funding reductions for community service discretionary activities and the elimination of special grants for activities on behalf of the homeless and community food and nutrition activities, the reduction is 18.8 percent. The community service programs are designed specifically to reduce poverty by assisting community-based organizations to address the needs of the poor in their communities.

AFDC Fiscal Sanctions

The FY 1989 budget for the AFDC program includes $349 million in proposed savings resulting from the resumed collection from states of AFDC error rate disallowances in FY 1989. This proposal follows a two-year congressionally established moratorium on the imposition of such disallowances, which penalize states for AFDC overpayments and eligibility errors that exceed certain tolerance levels. There is widespread agreement that the tolerance levels are too low and the sanctions often lead states to mistakenly deny benefits to needy families. If imposed, the Administration's proposed penalties for error rates incurred between FY 1981 and FY 1983 are likely to have an additional negative impact on poor families in the affected jurisdictions. States are likely to feel pressure to recoup such losses by further restricting AFDC eligibility or benefit levels or making administrative changes that would hurt poor families.

Child Support

The Administration's FY 1989 budget anticipates a 12 percent increase in child support collections over FY 1988 for AFDC and non-AFDC families using the federal-state child support enforcement system. The Department of Health and Human Services' proposed FY 1989 expenditures for child support enforcement are $413 million, an increase of $43 million over FY 1988.

CDF Recommendations

An effective national effort to address the root cause of widespread child poverty—inadequate family incomes—requires progress on a number of fronts.

- For every American who can work, this nation must foster opportunities to work full time, at wage levels adequate to support a family decently.
- We must establish a child support system that ensures that children are supported by their parents to the fullest extent possible and that protects and enforces children's rights to that support.

- For all families that are unable to bring in enough income to provide adequately for themselves, we must establish a system that ensures that their basic subsistence needs are met.
- We must provide parents who are able to become independent of public help the basic skills, employment opportunities, and supports necessary to move toward self-sufficiency.

Action in any one of these areas alone will have little lasting impact on poor children and families. Only carefully planned, steady progress toward all of these goals will move our country significantly forward in addressing the root causes and terrible effects of poverty. While success cannot occur all at once in any single area, forward steps are needed now in each.

First, family incomes from work must be bolstered. As an initial step, it is essential to adjust the federal minimum wage in 1988 to begin to regain the ground lost since 1979 and to ensure that a full-time minimum wage job will never again provide a small family only sub-poverty level income. The current minimum wage of $3.35 an hour should be raised immediately to $3.85, increased in subsequent years until it equals the 1979 value in inflation-adjusted dollars, and thereafter adjusted annually for inflation.

At the same time, federal steps are needed to enhance job opportunities for Americans who are unable to find work or can find only part-time work. In economically depressed regions and impoverished neighborhoods, federal job-creation efforts are essential to stimulate economic development and support much-needed community improvement projects. For Americans who are out of work, the federal government must determine how to provide a short-term safety net for the jobless that functions more effectively than the federal unemployment insurance system as it currently is structured.

Second, families with only one parent in the home need help in ensuring that their children fully benefit from the child support due from the non-custodial parent. The 1984 Child Support Enforcement Amendments established an important framework for significant reforms in states' child support enforcement systems. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services must pursue vigorously the full implementation of these reforms. Further federal help also is needed to address major problems that have been identified in implementation of the 1984 amendments: the too-frequent failure of child support agencies to pursue paternity establishment; the inadequate benefits received from child support awards; and severe state and local management problems that too often deny children the support they are due.

To address the problems related to paternity establishment, states should be provided increased fiscal incentives for establishing paternity. States should be required to ensure that parents of children born out of wedlock are advised of their right to pursue paternity throughout the child's minority, and of the procedures for doing so. To make sure awards are adequate, states must be required to establish uniform guidelines for setting child support awards, to regularly review and adjust both the guidelines and awards, and to improve enforcement efforts.

But these improvements and others mandated by the 1984 Amendments will benefit children only if they are coupled with extensive management improvements. Functional recordkeeping systems and realistic timetables for each of the steps in state child support enforcement activities are the backbone of an effective collection system. States must be required to establish time limits for their action on paternity cases and for initiating the establishment and enforcement of child support awards. All states must be required to establish automated tracking and monitoring systems.

Third, immediate steps must be taken to build a welfare system that adequately supports families that cannot garner enough income to meet their survival needs. CDF's Legislative Agenda would require states to adjust their need standards to reflect more realistically current living costs. States must then phase in AFDC increases so that benefits, when combined with food stamps, would reach a minimum of 75 percent of the poverty level by 1992 and then climb to 100 percent in ensuing years, with cost of living increases to maintain that level. All poor families in need, regardless of their family structure, should be eligible for such assistance. As the first step toward this goal, all states should be required to provide AFDC to two-parent families that are in need due to unemployment. Other categorical AFDC requirements, such as sibling and grandparent deeming policies, that make it more difficult for poor families to stay together should be reversed. Poor families also need supplemental assistance to help them cope with high energy costs and protect themselves from the winter cold and, in some parts of the country, the summer heat. At a minimum, the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) should be restored to its FY 1987 funding level of $1.8 billion and steps should be taken to phase in coverage of all eligible households. The Weatherization Program also should be restored to its full 1988 annual funding level of $200 million and gradually increased to $500 million, the amount needed to weatherize 500,000 low-income houses.

Finally, the AFDC program must be restructured to provide greater help to parents who want to find employment but who need intensive education, skills training, child care, and other supportive services in order to do so. These education, training, and employment programs should: be based on individualized assessments of participants' needs and the goals outlined in individual employability plans; provide help to participants in choosing the employment opportunities they want to pursue, and the basic education and training they need; give priority to education for participants without high school diplomas or the equivalent; and provide a range of family support services, including quality child care for those working or preparing to work. States should be required to develop effective training and work preparation programs that significantly enhance the employment prospects of participants. Short-term work experience programs should be linked to training and allowed only when they are targeted on individuals who can clearly be shown to benefit from them and when they are closely linked to participants' employability plans.

The many disincentives to employment faced by AFDC recipients must be removed. Current time limitations on the earned income disregard should be eliminated, and the disregard expanded and applied to both participants' initial eligibility and subsequent benefit determinations. The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), designed to rebate payroll taxes to very low wage earners, should be disregarded in calculating participants' AFDC and food stamp eligibility and benefit levels. The 100 hour work rule also should be eliminated as an eligibility requirement for AFDC-UP families. Lastly, transitional child care and health care assistance must be provided to AFDC parents who leave the welfare rolls for jobs without health care and child care, so that they will be able to take advantage of employment opportunities available to them.

AFDC: Funding and Budget Request, FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	FY 1989 Current Policy	FY 1989 Proposed	Change From Current Policy	Percent Change
AFDC and child support	$10,704.3	$10,723.1[1]	$18.8	0.2

[1] The Administration proposes to reduce spending in FY 1989 by collecting $349.2 million from the states in penalties for errors, while adding $368 million to fund the Employment and Training Reorganization Act of 1987 (H.R. 3200, the Administration-supported version of welfare reform) were that bill to become law. Both amounts are included here.

HOMELESSNESS AND HOUSING

Every child needs a place to call home. A home provides far more than just a physical shelter against the elements. It anchors a family in the community and provides children with the stability they need to develop and grow.

An increasing number of American families today are adrift without homes. Nationwide, members of families with children represent more than one-third of all homeless people, according to a December 1987 report by the U.S. Conference of Mayors. In some cities, the proportion is much higher: in Trenton, New Jersey, 50 percent of the homeless are members of families with children; in Providence, Rhode Island, 65 percent are. New York City officials report that 12,000 homeless children were in city shelters in September 1987, more than the total number of homeless single women and men whom the city sheltered.

Counting homeless people is difficult by definition, and disagreements about such estimates often become the battleground for political disputes. Recent estimates of the total number of homeless Americans range from 350,000 (by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban and Development—HUD) to 3 million (by the Coalition for the Homeless). Working from current reports that one-third of homeless Americans are members of families with children, anywhere between 100,000 and 1 million members of families are homeless. An estimated one-half of that group are children, suggesting that between 50,000 and 500,000 homeless children with their parents can now be found in America's streets, shelters, bus stations, and welfare hotels.

Also among the ranks of America's homeless are some 1 million children and adolescents not with their parents. Many have left home because of abusive situations, and more and more find themselves alone and with no home to which to return. (See Runaway Youths and Others in the Juvenile Justice System chapter.)

Although emergency shelter services have been expanded significantly, 71 percent of the cities surveyed by the Conference of Mayors in late 1987 reported that services for families with children were facing the most severe overload. In the District of Columbia, officials reported that the number of families seeking shelter jumped 500 percent during 1986 alone.

A Portrait of Homeless Families

Homeless families are a diverse group. Children in two-parent as well as single-parent families increasingly find themselves without homes. The Conference of Mayors found in 1986 that fully one-third of homeless families include two parents. In some cities this proportion was even higher: 45 percent in Denver and Seattle and 65 percent in Portland.

Homeless families are not just present in our city streets, but increasingly are found in rural and suburban communities as well. In affluent Westchester County, a suburb of New York City, the number of homeless families requesting shelter in a one-month period shot up by 60 percent between 1986 and 1987.

Poor economic conditions in one state sometimes prompt a family to migrate to an area believed to have good job prospects, such as Florida or Arizona. A study of homeless families in Los Angeles conducted by Dr. David Wood of the RAND/UCLA Center for Health Policy Studies found that more than one-third of them had migrated to that city within the prior year, most of them in search of jobs. With all their belongings packed in their cars and whatever savings they possess, they travel hundreds or even thousands of miles in search of a new chance and a new home. If they cannot find work quickly, they are at high risk of becoming homeless.

> Allie and Joe and their six-year-old son, Mark, once called Indiana home. For many years Joe worked as a welder, but his company was struggling and often didn't pay him for all his hours. Eventually, the family fell behind in paying its rent and was evicted. They packed their belongings into their car and headed for Florida, hoping to make a better life there. Instead, as Joe searched for work from city to city, they lived the brutal life of the homeless. When their car broke down they lived in it, because the only shelters available were a Salvation Army facility that only allowed one-night stays or a mission for men with substance abuse problems. They ate in soup kitchens and showered where they could. Mark was depressed and lonely because he had no friends to play with and missed going to school. Eventually, they gave up and moved on to Louisiana, where they have cousins they hope will be able to help them.

While a variety of factors force families into homelessness, virtually all homeless families share an inability to afford a roof over their heads. Some families lose the homes they have owned or rented for years because of a sudden crisis in family finances. The crisis can be precipitated by an event such as a wage earner leaving the home, a drastic rent increase, a family member losing a job, or the birth of a new child. Others are forced to move because their home is burned, sold from under them, or allowed by landlords to become uninhabitable. Often, women who have been subjected to family violence, or who have had to witness the abuse of their children, flee their homes.

Families exhaust all other options before turning to shelters or the streets as a last resort. In New York City, one study found that more than half of the families in emergency housing had stayed on couches and cots in the homes of friends for months or even years before the threat of eviction or the stress of overcrowding forced them to leave. Eighty-two percent of the homeless families interviewed by the Colorado Children's Campaign in 1987 had lived with friends or relatives before entering a shelter.

Homelessness Leaves Permanent Scars on Children and Families

> The apartment that was home to Barbara, a single mother, and her two small children was destroyed by a fire set by an arsonist. They moved in with Barbara's sister, and then into a friend's house, but both times the landlords threatened to evict everyone if they did not leave. Since they kept moving from town to town, the school-aged daughter, Kathy, missed a lot of school. Finally, they were forced to share a single room in a welfare hotel. Barbara tried to keep her children from seeing the drug dealers and prostitutes who also used the hotel, although it was hard to explain the condoms and needles they found outside the door every morning. The school closest to the hotel wouldn't let Kathy in at all because it didn't consider the hotel a permanent address.

The experience of being without a home is devastating—physically and emotionally—to children and parents. Homelessness takes a measurable toll on children's health, education, and emotional development. Many homeless families are shattered by increased domestic violence, severe depression, or the placement of children in foster care.

Homelessness hurts children even before they are born. A 1987 study of 400 pregnant women in welfare hotels in New York City, conducted by Dr. Wendy Chavkin of the New York City Department of Health, found that more than 39 percent had received no prenatal care. This astronomical rate of lack of care is nearly three times that of women in low-income housing projects (15 percent) and more than four times that of all pregnant city residents (9 percent). Not surprisingly, the rates of infant mortality and low birthweight among the homeless also were found to be extremely high. More than 16 percent of the babies born to homeless hotel residents were born at low birthweight, compared with 11 percent for women in low-income housing projects and 7 percent city-wide. Similarly, the infant mortality rate among babies born to homeless women was a startling twenty-five deaths per 1,000 live births, compared with seventeen per 1,000 for the housed poor women and twelve per 1,000 city-wide.

The health of homeless children and their parents is endangered by extreme poverty, lack of health insurance or funds to obtain health care, inadequate or uncertain diet and sleeping arrangements, lack of access to a shower or bath, and exposure to the elements and to shared living, eating, and bathing quarters.

As a result, an evaluation of the Johnson-Pew Health Care for the Homeless program found, homeless children are twice as likely to suffer from chronic health problems such as cardiac disease, anemia, and vascular disorders as other children their age. They are also twice as likely to suffer upper respiratory infections and five times as likely to have gastrointestinal problems.

Homelessness often interrupts or hampers a child's education. Homeless children whose families frequently are forced to move miss significant time in school. A 1986 Child Welfare League study of homeless families found that 43 percent of the school-aged children interviewed by Travelers Aid Societies in a number of cities were not attending school at all.

Too many school systems are indifferent or hostile to children who have no permanent homes. Permanent residency requirements frequently bar homeless children either from the school nearest their former home or the one serving the neighborhood in which they are temporarily staying. While some school districts around the country have become more sensitive to the needs of homeless children in recent years, many others still are not equipped to help these children continue their education. One-third of the shelter providers surveyed by the Center for Law and Education and the National Network of Runaway and Youth Services in February 1987 reported that they knew of homeless children who had been denied access to school.

For those homeless children who are able to attend school, their poor living conditions make it difficult to learn in class and keep up. Teachers whose classes include homeless children have reported that many of the children come to school hungry, in dirty clothes, depressed, without homework done, and exhausted because they cannot sleep at night in shelters. Nineteen percent of the homeless children in the Colorado study were reported by their parents to have developed learning disabilities as a result of the experience of homelessness. Teachers and shelter providers have reported that when homeless children do come to school, they are stigmatized and taunted by other children, and teased about wearing the same clothes all the time, about living in a hotel, and about having no home.

The sudden disruption of their lives and the lack of stability or routine can cause young children to regress: preschoolers stop talking, toilet-trained children revert to diapers, and many readopt infantile behavior. Older children suffer as well, often becoming depressed and frightened. Dr. Ellen Bassuk of Harvard Medical School found in studying school-aged homeless children in Boston that more than half displayed signs of clinical depression and anxiety, as well as serious developmental lags. Sixty-one of sixty-six families in a New York City study reported that their children had developed behavioral and emotional problems since becoming homeless.

Homelessness affects not only children's well-being, but that of the parents and the family unit as well. Homelessness can cause emotional problems for parents, cause or exacerbate domestic violence, and result in foster care placements for children. While an emergency shelter provides a roof, it does not give families or children any of the stability they need to function. Families, no matter what their size, often share small rooms and chaotic communal spaces are shared with many other families and children. Many of the hotels in which homeless families are placed are also home to all-night drug trafficking and prostitution.

Most family shelters close during the day, forcing young children and their parents into the streets to search for a warm, dry place to spend winter days. Parents must often seek work and a new home with their children and all their belongings in tow.

A study of homeless families in Atlanta, prepared by Dr. Nancy Boxill for the Atlanta Task Force for the Homeless, found that mothers living in shelters lost authority because so many of their traditional jobs—such as establishing a set bedtime, supervising meals, and disciplining youngsters—had been assumed by the shelter and its staff. This disruption of family dynamics can persist after the family finds a home.

Homeless families are more prone to eruptions of family violence because of their chaotic circumstances. Shelter providers in about one-third of the cities surveyed by the Conference of Mayors observed that the pressures related to homelessness—disrupted routines, unemployment, parental depression, and close living quarters—were largely responsible for incidents of both spouse abuse and child abuse among the families they serve.

Homelessness often pulls families apart. Because few shelters are set up to accommodate families with children, especially two-parent families, they often are forced to split up to find places to stay. For example, as of the spring of 1987, New Orleans had no shelters that could accommodate two-parent families.

Homelessness also can lead to temporary or permanent family break-up through placement of a child in foster care. Even if a homeless parent is striving to provide for a child, such a move may result if adequate family shelter is not available or if public officials view a family's inadequate housing or homelessness as a form of parental neglect. Around the country, public officials and advocates report that housing problems are a primary reason for placement of significant numbers of children into foster care. In New Jersey, for example, one recent study listed housing problems and homelessness as the reason for placement of about 40 percent of the foster care cases examined. A 1987 survey of private foster care agencies in New York identified almost 400 children in care who could not be reunited with their parents because of housing problems.

> Shelley and Michael have four young children, ranging in age from sixteen months to seven years old. Michael worked as a ranch hand in California, and his family lived in a house on the ranch that had serious health and safety problems such as backed-up plumbing, a sparking electrical system, no insulation, and inadequate heat. The Department of Social Services would not help them find better housing because Michael's employment made them ineligible for such assistance, but when one of the children got sick public officials told the parents they would have to move or their children would be placed in foster care. When they couldn't find an affordable unit, all the children were removed and placed in care. Shelley and Michael are still looking for a unit they can afford and the children are still waiting to go home.

Homelessness also endangers the health and well-being of pregnant and parenting teens, as well as their children—born and unborn. A study of homeless pregnant and parenting teens in Chicago found that many have trouble getting needed health care. Frequent barriers include regulations requiring a permanent address and the teens' frequent moves and unstable living situations, which make it hard for them to get to a clinic or a doctor.

In addition, pregnant teenagers and teen mothers have a particularly hard time finding housing. A California study conducted by the National Center for Youth Law found that many of these vulnerable young mothers are unable to live with the babies' fathers or their own parents. In many areas of the state large portions of the housing market are closed to these women: many public housing authorities will not rent to minors, and many landlords who participate in the Section 8 federal housing subsidy program will not take teens even if they have Section 8 certificates. Further, homeless shelters often are barred from accepting minors with children.

Without other options, these pregnant and parenting teens often live on the streets, in cars, or with friends. Their frequent moves and unstable living arrangements endanger them and their children, limit their access to critical services, and make it hard for parents and children to get to school.

The Underlying Causes of Homelessness: Inadequate Family Incomes and Dwindling Low-Cost Housing

The rapid increase of homelessness among families can be attributed primarily to three simultaneous trends: falling family incomes among the poor and near-poor (especially dramatic among young families), a shrinking supply of affordable low-income housing, and cuts in federal low-income housing assistance. Together, these trends have pushed a growing number of low-income families into homelessness and locked many of them out of the housing market once they have become homeless.

While real income has fallen for many low-income families (see Family Income chapter), the rents they must pay have increased more rapidly than those of better-off families. One study found that among households with annual incomes between $5,000 and $10,000, rents increased almost 10 percent more than inflation between 1974 and 1983, compared with a 2 percent increase among households with annual incomes between $20,000 and $30,000.

As rents go up and incomes decline, more and more poor households are forced to devote a dangerously high portion of their incomes to their housing costs. A rent-to-income ratio of 30 percent generally is considered by housing experts to be reasonable, allowing families, whether owners or renters, to pay for other necessities such as food, heat, and clothing.

But in 1983, according to a report prepared by Cushing Dolbeare for the National Low Income Housing Coalition, 18 percent of all renters were paying more than 60 percent of their incomes for rent and utilities; 86 percent of the renters with annual incomes of less than $5,000 a year were paying this dangerously high portion of their incomes for housing. In contrast, two-thirds of renters with annual incomes of more than $35,000 spend less than 15 percent of their incomes for rent and utilities.

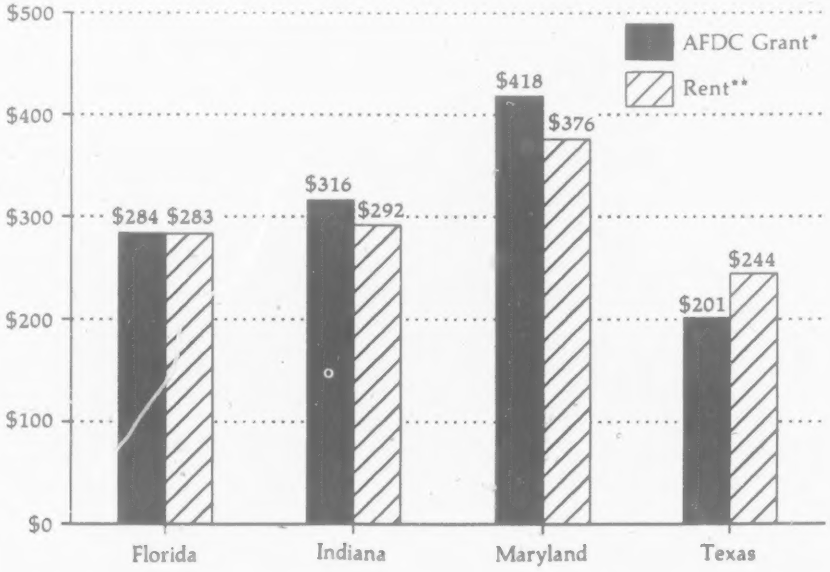
Poor families with children are especially likely to be spending large portions of their incomes for housing, leaving little for other necessities. A 1987 study by the Congressional Research Service estimated that fully one-half of the 15 million low- and very-low-income families with children paid more than the recommended 30 percent of their incomes for housing. When only renters are considered, this proportion rose to four-fifths. The U.S. General Accounting Office found an 86 percent increase between 1975 and 1983 in the number of very-low-income rural households paying more than 30 percent of their incomes in rent. (These terms are defined by HUD as follows: low-income families are those with incomes between 51 and 80 percent of the local median income; very-low-income families are those with incomes less than half of the local median.)

In many of the poorest households, Americans are spending the bulk of their meager incomes on rent. The Joint Center for Housing Studies found that more than one-fourth of the poorest low-income households were spending more than 75 percent of their incomes for rent in 1983. Thirty-five percent of single mothers with children younger than six in this group spent 75 percent or more of their incomes on rent—double the proportion in 1974.

Poor families that depend on the very low and inflation-eroded grants that states give in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program are extremely likely to pay a huge share of their incomes for rent. An Urban Institute study based on 1984-1985 data found that the part of the AFDC grant theoretically allotted by the states as available to pay an AFDC family's rent averaged less than half of the fair market rent (FMR) for their area as estimated by HUD. In fifteen states, the entire AFDC grant was less than the lowest FMR in the state. In another twenty-two states, the maximum AFDC grant was less than 150 percent of the FMR—meaning that rent would consume two-thirds of the grant, leaving little for heat, clothes, food, or medical bills. For example, Florida's maximum AFDC grant for a family of four was $284 a month, and the states' low FMR was $283 a month for four people.

Climbing rents are a symptom of the growing shortage of affordable, available housing units. A nationwide 1986 study by the Low Income Housing Information Service found a huge gap between the number of low-income

HUD Low Fair Market Rents for Housing Compared with AFDC Monthly Grants for All Needs



*AFDC Grant is maximum for a family of four in 1985 for all of the family's monthly expenses.
**Rent is HUD estimate of average monthly cost of low rent for two-bedroom housing.

Source: Urban Institute

renters and the number of such units: 4 million units vacant and renting at affordable prices for the 8 million low-income renters who needed them. This represents a 120 percent increase in the shortfall since 1980. In some areas, the gap was even wider: in Connecticut, 112,000 low-income renters were in the market for only 40,000 affordable units.

This gap rapidly is becoming a chasm and it will widen further as the effects of the housing funding reductions of the 1980s begin to show. Because many housing projects take ten or fifteen years to complete, many of the small numbers of new low-income housing units being built now were authorized in the 1970s. Virtually no new units have been funded since 1980, the impact of which will become clearer as the existing production is completed.

Federal Cutbacks Have Helped Create the Low-Income Housing Crisis

The crisis in low-income housing has been caused substantially by the federal government's retreat from providing housing help to the poor. Since 1949 ensuring "a decent home and living environment for every American family" has been a stated goal of federal law. Despite this commitment, and in the face of a pressing low-income housing problem and the resulting rising tide

Number of Low-Income Renter Households Compared with Number of Affordable Units*

State	Households	Units
California	1,084,277	294,871
Colorado	107,269	47,542
Connecticut	112,409	40,106
Illinois	430,524	154,265
Massachusetts	245,929	103,919
Michigan	248,874	118,202
New Jersey	276,015	83,711
New York	928,319	390,630
Ohio	345,080	179,494
Washington	150,819	69,547

SOURCE: Low Income Housing Information Service. 1985 estimates.

*Rent is 30 percent of income.

of homelessness, the federal government has slashed drastically its support for low-income housing in the past seven years. Federal funds for low-income housing programs have fallen by almost 70 percent since 1981. Whatever efforts have survived are overwhelmed by the growing need.

The federal government has been increasingly uneven in its approach to providing housing help to our citizens. Even as assistance for the poor was reduced drastically, assistance in the form of tax subsidies and deductions (primarily benefiting upper-income homeowners) soared. The congressional Joint Committee on Taxation estimates that the mortgage deduction alone will cost the federal government $28.4 billion in FY 1989. Property tax deductions and other tax breaks related to real estate will cost the federal government another $20 billion in FY 1989. Because of the structure of the tax code, the richer a family is the more important these tax breaks are. An estimated three-fourths of the tax expenditures go to people in the top 15 percent of incomes, while only 3 percent benefit households with incomes of less than $15,000 a year.

Federal assistance for homeowners helps millions of more advantaged Americans provide a safe and stable environment for themselves and their families. But these subsidies do not help families that cannot afford to own homes, or that do own but are so poor that they cannot benefit from tax breaks. As the well-to-do receive increased help, the poor can only turn to assistance programs—primarily Section 8 and the Public Housing program—which are grossly inadequate. Only about 27 percent of poor renters receive any kind of federal housing assistance—a very small proportion even when compared with the 45 to 50 percent of poor children who receive Medicaid or the 67 percent of poor families with children who receive school lunch assistance. A 1986 Urban Institute study estimated that even among welfare recipients only about 22 percent receive housing assistance.

The tight supply and long waiting lists make assisted housing—either through Section 8 or Public Housing—an unrealistic option for many homeless families trying to reestablish permanent housing, although it may be the only affordable housing in the area. In Chicago families wait ten years to receive a Section 8 certificate before they can even begin to look for housing. Officials in the District of Columbia report that families have an eight-year wait for housing assistance. Sixty-five percent of the cities surveyed by the Conference of Mayors in December 1987 reported that they have closed their waiting lists for assisted housing (primarily Section 8 and Public Housing) despite continually increasing demand.

The Section 8 program is one of two main housing assistance efforts that have survived the recent years of cutbacks. Through Section 8, low-income families receive certificates that can defray part of the rent in buildings whose owners participate in the program. The family with Section 8 eligibility pays 30 percent of its income for rent, and HUD pays the landlord the difference between that amount and the FMR (established by HUD) for the unit.

The number of new Section 8 certificates issued each year has fallen drastically during the Reagan era. Morever, more of the families that do get certificates are unable to benefit from the program because they cannot find vacant units in buildings whose owners participate in this program. HUD recently estimated that 52 percent of all households and 72 percent of minority households in the program turn back their certificates because they have not been able to find housing that is available to Section 8 recipients.

The problems will worsen in coming years, with the expiration of many Section 8 agreements entered into in the 1970s by developers and landlords in exchange for government-sponsored loans and other assistance. During the next ten years, as many of these landlords leave the program and increase rents, the absence of substantial new government assistance means that as many as 900,000 units could disappear from the low-income housing market.

The other major federal effort, the Public Housing program, serves about one-third of the low-income households that receive housing assistance from the federal government, or about 1 million families. It too is overwhelmed by the demands for assistance. In virtually every city, low-income families now wait years to move into public housing units. In many cities, the number of people on the waiting list exceeds the total number of public units that exist. The Conference of Mayors reported in 1986 that many cities had closed their waiting lists for public housing because existing lists already entailed waits of five or ten years.

The gap between need and supply is widened further by attrition in the public housing stock itself. HUD estimates that as many as 70,000 public housing units are boarded up and abandoned every year because they are too expensive to repair. The number of new public housing units under construction is far too small to begin to compensate for the loss.

In a further blow to low-income Americans, the Reagan Administration has championed a system of vouchers to meet low-income housing needs, an approach that fails to provide low-income families with affordable housing. Under this program, HUD provides a poor family with a voucher worth the difference between 30 percent of its income and the FMR in the area. But the family must find a suitable unit on the open market, and must pay the landlord the difference between the voucher value and the actual rent it is charged. Initial HUD evaluations of the voucher program have shown that many families that have switched from Section 8 certificates to vouchers experience a significant increase in rent. They pay more because this program—unlike Section 8 certificates and Public Housing—imposes no upper limit on the portion of their own income they can pay for rent, and because the tight housing market leaves them in no position to bargain. Fully 54 percent of the low-income households using vouchers pay more than 30 percent of their incomes in rent, and 25 percent are paying more than 40 percent, the study found.

Many low-income families face yet another barrier in their struggle to find affordable, decent housing: discrimination by landlords against families with children. Few states or cities prohibit this kind of discrimination as part of their fair housing policy, and federal policy does not specifically prohibit it. An extensive national study conducted by HUD in 1980 found that 75 percent of rental units surveyed either excluded or restricted families with children. Numerous recent state and local studies have confirmed these findings. For example, a 1985 survey of ninety-six landlords who control more than 11,000 rental units in Des Moines, Iowa, found that 48 percent of them, representing 33 percent of the units, did not permit children to live on the premises.

Federal efforts to address the crisis of homelessness have yet to come to grips with its longer term, underlying causes. Poor families faced with higher rents will almost inevitably become homeless unless some governmental housing assistance is available.

Yet the federal government, after cutting deeply into such housing assistance efforts, has put a Band-Aid over the gaping wound of homelessness that has resulted. In 1986 bipartisan congressional efforts to create a range of emergency services for homeless people succeeded in overcoming Administration opposition, but only after those proposals that involved the creation of permanent housing for low-income people were removed from the legislation.

In an attempt to address the longer term crisis in low-income housing, some state and local governments and private organizations have tried to fill some of the role vacated by the federal government. They have invested considerable resources to boost the supply of affordable low-income housing. At least fifteen states, including California, Kentucky, Maine, and Maryland, have established housing trust funds. A number of states, including California, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, have created programs similar to Section 8 to assist low-income renters. New Jersey state funds have provided more than 15,000 people with short-term loans to prevent homelessness, enabling them to remain in their houses and apartments. A number of city governments also have begun contributing funds to the development of new low-income housing.

But such efforts cannot meet our nation's desperate need for affordable housing for low-income families. Without a strong, renewed federal role, both the housing crisis and its most painful symptom—homelessness—will worsen.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

In the face of rising homelessness among families and children, President Reagan's FY 1989 budget proposals yet again would cut deeply into housing programs that are an essential part of any long-term solution to this crisis, while devastating programs established to provide emergency and short-term help to homeless Americans.

The Administration's proposals all but ignore the desperate lack of affordable housing for low-income families. While the budget does propose assistance for an additional 108,000 units, assistance for 100,000 of these would be provided in the form of housing vouchers, which do not help build the housing supply and are of little benefit to needy families that live in areas with tight housing markets. The scant 8,000 new units would be divided between Indian Housing and programs for the elderly and handicapped.

The President also proposes to make a change in the Section 8 certificate program that would be harmful to many needy families. The proposal would make the certificates more like the Administration's failed voucher program by removing the 30 percent limit on the amount of income a tenant can be required to pay for rent.

The President proposes a number of other funding reductions and policy changes that would further exacerbate the housing crunch for low-income families.

- The Administration would wholly eliminate two programs helpful to such families: the Housing Development Grant Program (HoDAG, for which $144 million was available in FY 1988), which provides grants to states and localities to help them rehabilitate old multifamily units and construct new units; and the Housing Counseling Program, funded at $3 million in FY 1988, which provides pre-purchase and renter assistance and helps to avoid defaults.
- The Administration also would slash the Rental Rehabilitation program, which provides grants to state and local governments to rehabilitate privately owned rental housing, from $200 million to $150 million.

The Administration's proposed budget would make severe cuts in programs and services that serve homeless children and families, eliminating or reducing funding for all but one of the newly created shelter programs. For example, the Stewart McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, which established many shelter and support services for homeless children and families, is not recommended for reauthorization when it expires this year.

The President would:

- Provide no funding for the Emergency Shelter Grants Program (funded at $58 million in FY 1988), which helps communities renovate, rehabilitate, or convert buildings into emergency shelters.
- Eliminate funding for the $15 million Supplemental Assistance for Facilities program, which provides funds to communities for innovative efforts to meet both immediate and long-term needs of the homeless. The program focuses on special needs populations, including homeless families with children.
- Reduce funding for the Emergency Food and Shelter Program by 30 percent. This program, which provides grants to local voluntary organizations to support their efforts, already was cut from $125 million in FY 1987 to $114 million in FY 1988, and the President proposes to reduce it to $80 million in FY 1989.

While the Administration would fund the Supportive Housing Demonstration program at $75 million, an $11 million increase from FY 1988, this small increase would hardly be able to fill the void left by the other sweeping cuts.

The Administration's budget proposals are especially shortsighted in eliminating or deeply cutting funding for programs that seek to minimize the damage homelessness does to families, and to help them resettle in permanent housing as quickly as possible.

The President would:

- Provide no funding for the $9.4 million Education for Homeless Children Program, which helps states ensure that homeless children can continue their education with as little disruption as possible.
- Cut funding for the Health Care for the Homeless Program from $60 million to $15 million, a 75 percent decrease.

- Eliminate funding for the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (funded at $50 million in FY 1988), which helps soup kitchens and other agencies provide emergency meals and food supplies to the hungry and homeless.
- Reduce funding for the Community Services Block Grant from $382 million to $310 million in FY 1989 (and phase it out over several years) and remove the earmark that specifies $35 million for services for homeless persons.
- Provide no funding for either Literacy Training for Homeless Adults (funded at $14 million in FY 1988) or the Job Training for the Homeless Programs (funded at $10 million in FY 1988), although both are critical to self-sufficiency and stable housing.

CDF Recommendations

The growing crisis of homelessness among low-income families requires not only short-term and emergency remedies but a long-term recommitment to the goal of decent housing for all American families. To prevent homelessness and assure adequate assistance for families that do become homeless, our nation must:

- Ensure an adequate supply of decent and affordable housing for low-income families by providing sufficient funds to maintain and repair existing units and construct new units as necessary;
- Ensure that families can afford available housing by providing housing assistance to all low-income families that need it, increasing AFDC grants and shelter allowances to levels that realistically account for local housing costs, and restoring the value of the minimum wage so that low-income working families' earnings will be more adequate to address their housing needs;
- Strengthen national laws against discrimination in housing by prohibiting discrimination against families with children;
- Prevent homelessness and the damage it can cause by providing emergency assistance (including cash help to cover rent or mortgage costs) to families in crisis;
- Take steps to ensure that families are not forced to break up and see their children placed in foster care due to housing problems alone;
- Ensure appropriate services for families that do become homeless, especially help in finding and securing permanent housing as quickly as possible, adequate shelter space for families with children so that they do not have to choose between separation and shelter, and referrals to crucial services such as health care, child care, job search, and education assistance;
- Ensure appropriate services for pregnant and parenting teens and other teenagers who cannot live with their own families, including health care, appropriate housing assistance (including foster care and group homes), continuing education, parenting classes and support, and employment and training assistance.

Housing and Homelessness: Net New Budget Authority, FY 1983-FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	Low-Income Housing	TEFAP[1]	Emergency Food and Shelter Program
FY 1983 proposed	-$3,850.0	$0.0	$0.0
FY 1983 actual	8,651.0	50.0	100.0
FY 1984 proposed	400.0	0.0	0.0
FY 1984 actual	9,913.0	50.0	110.0
FY 1985 proposed	5,600.0	50.0	0.0
FY 1985 actual	10,759.0	57.0	20.0
FY 1986 proposed	499.0	0.0	0.0
FY 1986 actual	—[2]	50.0	70.0
After Gramm-Rudman	9,537.0	50.0	70.0
FY 1987 proposed	0.0	0.0	0.0
FY 1987 actual	7,329.0	50.0	125.0
FY 1988 proposed	3,920.0	0.0	80.0
FY 1988 actual	7,419.0	50.0	114.0
FY 1989 proposed	6,583.0	0.0	80.0

[1] Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program.

[2] Data not available.

FOOD ASSISTANCE

Adequate food and nutrition is one of the most basic necessities of a child's survival, growth, and development. Without it, a child's health is likely to suffer. Negative consequences can begin before birth, when malnutrition can compromise the health of both the pregnant woman (leading to maternal anemia or even toxemia, a potentially fatal condition) and her baby (increasing the likelihood of prematurity or low birthweight, the major cause of infant death). Nutritional deprivation in newborn babies can lead to cognitive and other developmental deficiencies, delayed or stunted growth, and weakened resistance to infection. Hunger also increases a child's vulnerability to environmental poisons like lead.

While many American families' cupboards are filled with the richest variety of foods in the world, millions of other families often have empty shelves and empty stomachs. A host of studies in the past few years shows that, despite the economic recovery, hunger is a persistent problem throughout this nation.

Hunger in America: A Severe Impact on Families and Children

> "Buddy Lambert of McDowell County, West Virginia held eighteen-month-old Jason on his lap. The boy was losing hair, his frame revealing a child short and underweight."
>
> *Hunger Reaches Blue Collar America,* Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, October 1987

After a decade of progress in reducing hunger and malnutrition in America, these problems intensified in the 1980s. They are taking a heavy toll on the most vulnerable among us: our children.

- The Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, coordinated through the Harvard University School of Public Health, estimated in 1985 that many millions of Americans experience hunger at some point each month, and that malnutrition affects almost 500,000 American children.
- In an update of its 1985 report, the Physician Task Force found in 1987 that in many regions of the country low-income working Americans are

having to turn to bread lines and soup kitchens to feed themselves and their children. The new report, *Hunger Reaches Blue Collar America: An Unbalanced Recovery in a Service Economy,* found spreading hunger stemming from the oil industry slump in the South and Southwest, the weakened farm industry in the Midwest, and depressed conditions in the mining and steel industries in such states as Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and West Virginia.

- In December 1987, the U.S. Conference of Mayors released the results of a survey finding that requests for emergency food assistance increased in 1987 by an average of 18 percent in twenty-four of twenty-six major U.S. cities surveyed. Twenty-five of the twenty-six cities also reported a substantial rise (averaging 18 percent) in the number of families with children requesting assistance. This group now makes up two-thirds of those requesting emergency food assistance in the cities surveyed, according to the Conference. In two-thirds of the surveyed cities, emergency food facilities turn away some people in need due to lack of sufficient resources.
- A survey of families coming to emergency food providers in Minnesota in July 1985 found that two-thirds of the families included children. In one-fifth of these families with children, the children had had to skip meals because there was no food.

The fact that a major hunger problem exists in the United States is widely accepted. In 1984 President Reagan's own cautious Task Force on Food Assistance declared that hunger is now "a significant problem throughout our nation." In 1986 millions of Americans, joined by President Reagan, participated in the nationwide Hands Across America event to express their concern about the seriousness of hunger and homelessness in the United States.

Our nation's persistent hunger problem is having a lasting and harmful impact on the health of our children.

- One health outcome that may result from inadequate nutrition is low birthweight among infants, which is more frequent among babies born to poor women than among those born to more well-off women. Low birthweight is a leading cause of infant death; low-birthweight infants also are substantially more likely to be impaired for life by autism, retardation, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, learning disabilities, and vision and hearing disabilities. The percentage of American infants born at very low birthweight (infants weighing less than 3.5 pounds at birth) rose in 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, and 1985 (the last year for which data are available).
- A major study issued in late 1983 by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health found that 10,000 to 17,500 poor children in that state suffered stunted growth, largely due to chronic malnutrition. Nearly one in five low-income children studied in the survey was either stunted, anemic, or abnormally underweight.
- A survey of families with children in a low-income neighborhood of New Haven, Connecticut, in the summer of 1986 found that one-quarter of the families sampled either were experiencing chronic food shortages or were at risk of this problem. Children in families chronically short of food had suffered from twice as many instances of health problems as children from families not experiencing chronic food shortages during the preceding six months.

One important reason for the spread of hunger in America during the 1980s is rising poverty. One of every five children in America (or a total of 12.7 million children) is poor today, a rate higher than at any time during the 1970s. Not only is a higher percentage of America's children poor, but the poor are poorer. The official poverty line for a family consisting of a man or woman and two children was $8,737 in 1986. The number of children living in households with incomes below 50 percent of the poverty line has grown from 3.477 million to 5.191 million between 1979 and 1986.

Poverty has been worsening among our nation's children for two main reasons:

- *Their parents' earnings have dropped.* Many families have been earning less, especially families headed by a young adult (which are likely to be raising young children). The median income of families headed by persons fifteen to twenty-four years old has fallen (in real dollars) from more than $19,000 in 1979 to $15,150 in 1986. One reason is that the minimum wage has not been changed since January 1981 while prices have increased 33 percent from that month to the end of 1987. Many more low-income workers are earning wages that leave them and their families in poverty.
- *Their households are likely to be receiving less government help.* Cutbacks in government income maintenance and other basic programs for low-income families since 1980 have reduced further the resources that poor families have available to pay for basic needs such as food. First, only 31.5 percent of all jobless workers received unemployment insurance in the average month of 1987, the lowest percentage ever recorded (and well below the 50 percent coverage rate in 1980). Second, reductions in federal low-income housing programs have forced several million low-income families living in public and subsidized housing to pay a larger share of their incomes for rent. Third, the assistance provided to those poor families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) has lagged far behind inflation. Congressional Research Service data show that from 1970 to 1986 AFDC benefits fell by nearly one-third (in real terms) in the typical (or median) state. Finally, while the new tax reform law will reduce the federal income tax burden on low-income families, total federal tax burdens in 1988 (including payroll and excise taxes) still will be nearly 20 percent higher for the poorest tenth of the U.S. population than they were in 1977, according to a recent study released by the Congressional Budget Office. State and local tax burdens also have become more regressive over the past decade.

Because of cutbacks in key programs that help the poor, government benefits are less effective at combating poverty than they were in the recent past. In 1979 nearly one of every five families with children that otherwise would have been poor was lifted out of poverty by government cash benefit programs such as AFDC, unemployment insurance, and Social Security. But by 1986, according to an analysis of current census data issued in September 1987 by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, these programs lifted only one in every nine families with children out of poverty. Had the 1979 poverty reduction rate been maintained, nearly 500,000 families with children would have been spared the ill effects of living in poverty as of 1986.

Federal Food Programs Have Proven Their Effectiveness in Fighting Hunger and Protecting Health

Our nation knows how to make major progress in addressing the hunger problem, because it has succeeded in doing so before. During the decade between the end of the 1960s and the late 1970s, government programs to feed the needy (food stamps, school lunch and breakfast programs, the Child Care Food Program, and the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children—WIC) significantly reduced hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

Government data collected over time clearly demonstrate the effectiveness of the food programs. Every ten to fifteen years, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) conducts a nationwide survey of household food consumption patterns that provides an abundance of data on the nutritional status of Americans.

Between 1965 (when one survey was conducted) and 1977-1978 (when the most recent survey was conducted), the nutritional gap between low-income Americans and the rest of the population narrowed significantly. This is precisely the period when federal food programs—and particularly the food stamp program—were created or expanded. No series of events other than the emergence of food stamps and other food aid programs can account for such a marked improvement in nutrition.

Study after study has shown the effectiveness of the WIC program.

- WIC has been found to have a major impact on reducing the incidence of low-birthweight births. Major new research funded by USDA and issued in January 1986 also found direct links between WIC and a reduction in late fetal deaths, decreases in the rate of premature births, increases in the proportion of poor pregnant women seeking prenatal care, increased head circumference of infants born to women receiving WIC during pregnancy, and improved diets for women, infants, and children. The research also indicated possible links between WIC and improved cognitive development in children.
- A study conducted by researchers in California and published in 1987 by the *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* (published by the American Society for Clinical Nutrition) found that for women who have short intervals between pregnancies, WIC participation during the postpartum period increases the birthweight of the next child, lowers the risk of low birthweight, and appears to be linked to higher hemoglobin levels at the onset of the next pregnancy.
- A study conducted by the Missouri Department of Health and published in the November-December 1986 issue of *Public Health Reports* (published by the Public Health Service of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services) found that WIC significantly reduces medical costs in the first forty-five days after birth because, as a result of WIC, there are fewer low-birthweight infants requiring hospitalization.
- An article published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA)* in September 1987 found that low-income children not enrolled in WIC have a significantly higher prevalence of anemia than those who are enrolled. This article was accompanied by a *JAMA* editorial declaring that "These data should provide momentum to keep pressure on those responsible for continuation of funding as well as for increased funding of WIC."

A major evaluation by USDA of another key federal nutrition program—the school lunch program—found in 1982 that school lunches improve the nutritional status of school children, with the greatest improvement among low-income children.

Budget Cuts Have Meant That Fewer Families and Children Receive the Food Assistance They Need

Despite their successes, America's food assistance programs never have received enough funding to reach all those who need them. During the Reagan Administration's tenure, however, these programs have lost further ground due to cutbacks.

Food Stamps

The largest federal food program for the poor, the food stamp program helps approximately 19 million Americans defray the costs of buying food each month. According to a Congressional Budget Office analysis, funding for food stamps was cut $6.8 billion from FY 1982 through FY 1985, including $1.9 billion in FY 1985 alone. Other analyses have found that approximately two-thirds of these cutbacks were achieved by reducing benefits for households in poverty. Further savings were made through such measures as terminating benefits for needy families because their gross incomes were more than 130 percent of poverty, even though their disposable incomes (after subtracting taxes, work expenses, and part of particularly high rents and utility bills) were below poverty.

The food stamp cuts have had two effects: first, several hundred thousand recipients have been pushed off the program, and second, the benefits of about 15 million other recipients are lower (and consequently have less purchasing power). While modest restorations in the food stamp program enacted by Congress in 1985 and 1987 (amounting to about $200 million a year) somewhat alleviated this harm, the bulk of the cuts remains in place.

Independent of these cuts, food stamps are failing to reach millions of low-income Americans, or roughly one-third of those who are eligible. Ten million to 13 million Americans not receiving food stamps are eligible to do so, according to the President's own Task Force on Food Assistance. The independent Physician Task Force on Hunger generally concurred with this assessment in a report issued in May 1986, estimating that 10 million to 15 million Americans who are eligible for this help are not receiving it.

Whether or not they are officially eligible under the program's complex rules, those who need the program's help are less likely to get it than they were in 1980. Between 1980 and 1986 the number of persons below the poverty line jumped from 29.3 million to 32.4 million. During this period, when 3 million persons were added to the ranks of the poor, however, food stamp participation actually fell—from 19.8 million to 19.4 million. As a result, the ratio of people receiving food stamps for every 100 persons below the poverty line fell from sixty-eight in 1980 to sixty in 1986, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. (This comparison represents the ratio of food stamp participation to the population in poverty. It should be noted that not all poor persons are eligible for food stamps, due to such factors as the program's assets limits, while some non-poor persons—usually with incomes between 100 and 130 percent of the poverty line and with work expenses or high shelter costs—are eligible.)

A variety of factors may be contributing to this decline in food stamp coverage.

- *Eligibility restrictions:* Some households were terminated from benefits or made ineligible for the program by eligibility restrictions enacted in 1981 and 1982. Other needy American families with incomes below the poverty line, especially the newly unemployed, may be disqualified because they have assets like a two-year-old automobile or extremely modest savings. Limits on the worth of such assets have become progressively more severe because they have not been adjusted upward enough to compensate for the cumulative inflation of the past decade and a half. Inflation adjustments included in December 1985 food stamp legislation compensated for only about one-fifth of the effect of inflation since 1971, when the federal assets limit was set initially. (All households except those made up of elderly persons are currently ineligible for food stamps if their countable assets—including both their savings and the amount by which the value of any automobiles they own exceeds $4,500—total more than $2,000. Thus, a recently unemployed family with a car worth $6,000 and $750 in the bank is ineligible even if the family has no monthly income, still owes payments on the car, and has little equity in it.)
- *Lack of outreach:* Food stamps are not helping all hungry Americans because many who are eligible do not apply for them. One important reason is lack of information about the program. Extensive research, drawing from a well-known University of Michigan survey of low-income families across the nation, indicates that more than half of the eligible persons who do not participate either mistakenly think they are ineligible or do not know they are eligible. The federal government currently is doing nothing to address this problem, having terminated all federal funding for outreach efforts (except for those aimed at the homeless) and abolished in 1981 a requirement for state efforts.

Even Americans who do receive food stamp benefits today are scraping by on extremely small incomes. Households receiving food stamps in 1984 had average gross incomes of only $390 a month ($4,680 on an annualized basis) and average cash assets of $58. The income of the average food stamp household has declined in real terms since 1975, according to USDA data.

Many food stamp recipients cannot go out and earn the money they need to eat decently. Two of every three food stamp recipients are low-income children or elderly or disabled persons. Poor children alone constitute half of all recipients.

Families that receive food stamps often find they still cannot feed themselves adequately because the benefit levels are so low. Food stamp benefits are based on the cost of the "thrifty food plan," USDA's least expensive, bare bones food plan. USDA's own studies have shown that five of every six families whose food expenditures equal the cost of the thrifty food plan fail to obtain the Recommended Daily Allowance for basic nutrients. Currently, average food stamp benefits equal 54 cents per meal, while the maximum benefit (which is available to households with no other income for purchasing food) equals 79 cents per meal.

Child Nutrition Programs

The government's five nutritional programs that exclusively serve children—the school lunch, school breakfast, child care food, summer food, and special milk programs—were reduced by 29 percent from FY 1982 through FY 1985. Funding for these programs was cut by more than $5 billion during this four-year period, according to the estimates of the Congressional Budget

Office. Legislation enacted in October 1986 did include some modest improvements in a few child nutrition programs, particularly the school breakfast and special milk programs. However, these increases totaled just 2 percent of the annual amount by which the child nutrition programs were cut in 1981.

As a result of the deep reductions in child nutrition programs enacted in 1981, the number of children receiving school lunches each day fell by about 2 million, after adjusting for changes in school enrollment. The number of low-income children receiving free or reduced-price lunches dropped by close to 700,000.

The school lunch cuts were made in two main ways: first, by lowering the level below which families' incomes must fall in order for their children to qualify for free or reduced-price lunches; and second, by cutting back on federal dollars to support the program. While the largest reduction in dollars affected middle-income children, the steepest cuts in percentage terms came from support for reduced-price lunches served to near-poor children, leading to a substantial drop in the number of these youngsters who receive any school lunches at all. The government's reduction in overall support for the lunch program meant that some schools (possibly totaling as many as 2,000 nationwide) dropped the program, often leaving their low-income students completely without access to free meals.

Federal funding reductions enacted in 1981 also hurt the Child Care Food Program, which helps defray the cost of meals provided to children in day care. Meals provided to children in day care settings are now limited to two meals and one snack each day, regardless of the time the children actually spend in day care (which can exceed eight hours a day). Nearly $130 million a year was cut from federal support for food served to children in day care centers and homes.

The 1981 cuts also caused sizable reductions in the summer food program, which continues the school lunch program during the non-school summer months in some low-income areas. This led to the termination of many summer food programs operated by churches and religious organizations, YMCAs and YWCAs, boys' and girls' clubs, settlement houses, and similar nonprofit organizations. Only programs run by school systems or local governments were allowed to remain in operation. The cuts ended summer lunches for approximately 400,000 low-income children.

WIC

One program that has not been cut during the Reagan years, despite Administration efforts, is WIC. But it still helps only a minority of the low-income infants, young children, and pregnant and postpartum women at nutritional risk who are eligible to receive its services: prescription food supplements and nutrition counseling.

WIC is not an entitlement program and therefore can serve only as many poor women, infants, and children as its annual appropriation permits. Although Congress has provided for growth in WIC (despite several Administration attempts to hold back some or all of these funds), the program still reaches only 3.4 million people, or less than one-half of nutritionally at-risk pregnant women and children who are eligible. Sixty-seven U.S. counties have neither a WIC program nor the Commodity Supplemental Food Program (a similar but much smaller program); many other counties maintain waiting lists and have to turn away many eligible mothers and children.

Emergency Food Programs

Two emergency food assistance programs that were instituted in the 1980s to cope with our nation's hunger problem are facing cutbacks in 1988.

In late 1981, the Administration announced plans to begin distributing to the needy the surplus government cheese stored in government warehouses. In recent years several other surplus food items have been distributed as well.

For more than a year, the Administration attempted to distribute the food (through state and local governments, churches, food banks, soup kitchens, and emergency food pantries) without providing any funding to cover these agencies' and organizations' costs for storing, transporting, and handing out the food. By early 1983, when it had become increasingly apparent that failure to provide funds to help defray these costs was limiting the amount of surplus food reaching the hungry and homeless, Congress acted to provide $50 million to help cover these costs. Approximately $50 million has been provided each year since, although the Administration consistently has endeavored to terminate this appropriation.

In addition, since 1983 Congress has provided funds for emergency food and shelter services, with the funds being distributed to local charities and government agencies through a national board of major charitable organizations. In FY 1987, $125 million was provided for this purpose.

In FY 1988, both of these programs are facing cutbacks. USDA has announced that, due to declining government stocks of surplus cheese, nonfat dry milk, rice, and honey, the amount it will distribute this year will be cut in half from the amounts it distributed last year, with a possible halt in distribution. Further, the appropriation for the emergency food and shelter program—much of which is used by local charities to purchase food for the needy—has been cut from $125 million in FY 1987 to $114 million in FY 1988.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

The Administration's budget for food assistance programs in FY 1989 represents a sharp departure from previous Reagan Administration budgets. No reductions are proposed for food stamps or child nutrition programs. The WIC program would receive sufficient funding to cover inflation from FY 1988 to FY 1989, so that the number of women, infants, and children served in the program should remain the same.

Major reductions are proposed, however, for two emergency food assistance programs that serve some of the neediest families in our society.

- Funding for the emergency food and shelter program, which provides funds to soup kitchens and shelters for the homeless, would be reduced from $114 million in FY 1988 to $80 million in FY 1989. This would represent the second consecutive year of reductions in this program. In FY 1987, $125 million was appropriated for the program. This reduction would come at the same time that USDA is drastically reducing its distribution to the needy of surplus cheese and several other surplus food items, due to reductions in surplus food stocks. As a result, soup kitchens and emergency food programs would face simultaneous reductions in both surplus food donations and funds to make food purchases.
- The budget also terminates the $50 million annual appropriation that helps defray the costs to state and local public and charitable agencies and food banks of transporting, storing, and distributing surplus USDA

foods for the needy under the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program. This proposal would cut off all federal funds to help cover the costs of getting these foods to the needy.

Finally, the budget lacks any positive steps to address the ongoing hunger problem in our nation or to raise the too-small percentage of low-income pregnant women, infants, and children served through WIC.

CDF Recommendations

As an immediate step to deal with hunger in our nation, Congress should act to assure that poor families have a better chance of making it through the month without running out of food, that school breakfasts provide more adequate nutrition for the poor children who depend on them, and that WIC reaches many more of the low-income women and children who need the program's benefits.

To accomplish these goals, the Children's Defense Fund's Legislative Agenda would:

- Raise the appropriations levels for the WIC and the Commodity Supplemental Food programs so that all eligible low-income women, infants, and children can be served. Currently, due to funding limitations, these programs reach well less than half of the low-income pregnant women, infants, and children who are at nutritional risk and who meet the eligibility criteria. A sustained effort is needed to ensure that all eligible needy women and children receive benefits.
- Base food stamp benefit levels on the current cost of USDA's thrifty food plan, rather than on the cost of the thrifty plan for a period in the past. Presently, food stamp benefits for any given fiscal year are based on the cost of the thrifty plan for June of the previous fiscal year. As a result, the benefit levels typically are outdated almost as soon as they take effect—and become further outdated as the year progresses. Basing benefit levels for a given fiscal year on the best available projections of food costs for that same fiscal year at least would ensure that benefits approximate the current actual cost of the thrifty plan for families that, by definition, have no income to spare.
- Reinstate the food stamp outreach program to inform low-income persons about their potential eligibility. Research has demonstrated consistently that a major reason for non-participation by eligible families—especially families (such as the working poor) that are not on welfare—is a mistaken belief that they are not eligible. Outreach efforts can help get proper information to needy families so they know they have the option of applying for this benefit.
- Incorporate into the food stamp program a provision (comparable to that in the AFDC program) under which the first $50 of monthly income from child support is disregarded in computing benefits. (A provision purporting to do this was included in 1985 food stamp legislation, but was designed in a way that makes it largely ineffective: the provision takes effect only in the unlikely event that the state agrees to pay 100 percent of the additional food stamp benefit costs involved.) Providing a meaningful child support disregard would encourage more effective child support enforcement while also facilitating more uniform and coordinated administration of AFDC and food stamps.

- Increase the food stamp assets limits to the levels recommended in 1984 by the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. Assets limits were not adjusted from 1971 to 1985, despite high inflation. In 1985 Congress passed a small upward adjustment that was less than President Reagan's own Task Force on Food Assistance recommended. The basic asset limit should be raised from $2,000 to $2,250, and the limit on the market value of a vehicle from $4,500 to $5,500, as the President's Task Force proposed.
- Raise the food stamp child care deduction to more realistic levels. Current AFDC law allows families a deduction of up to $160 per month per child for child care costs that are necessary to enable a parent to work. By contrast, the food stamp program allows a maximum child care deduction of only $160 per family per month, regardless of the number of children in the family. If three children have to be placed in child care to enable a parent to work, the family essentially is allowed a maximum deduction of $53 per child per month—grossly inadequate to cover child care costs. The food stamp child care deduction should be the same as the AFDC deduction.
- Allow poor college students to receive food stamps. Under current law, a poor young person who is eligible for food stamps can continue to be eligible if he or she drops out of high school or graduates but does not go on to college, but not if he or she enrolls in college (unless the student is disabled, has a dependent younger than six, receives AFDC, or works at least half time in addition to attending school). College enrollment means automatic disqualification: a provision that creates yet another disincentive for poor children to go to college, despite the overwhelming evidence that education is one of the most effective routes out of poverty. College students who live with their parents or guardians should be allowed to receive food stamps if their families have low enough incomes to qualify.
- Make the monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting requirements in the food stamp program optional for states. Currently, states are required to subject all households of recipients with earnings or a recent work history to monthly reporting requirements, unless the state receives a waiver from USDA. Demonstration projects funded by USDA and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services have failed to produce evidence that monthly reporting achieves its purpose: reducing error rates. Further, studies have shown that many needy households have their benefits cut off because they have difficulty with the complex government forms and fail to file a monthly report on time. Despite these findings, USDA recently has tightened this policy still further, turning down state waiver requests and compelling several states to increase the proportion of their caseloads that are subject to monthly reporting. Instead, monthly reporting for all food stamp households should be a state option.
- Reform the food stamp quality control and error rate sanction system. A 1987 National Academy of Sciences (NAS) study severely criticized the current system, under which about forty-five states are threatened with loss of some federal funds each year because their food stamp error rates exceed levels the federal government allows. The NAS found that the current allowable error rate levels are unrealistic and called for a system that would sanction far fewer states. Moreover, the current

system encourages excessive frugality by states, by penalizing them for incorrectly providing too-generous benefits or providing benefits to ineligible households but failing to penalize states if large numbers of eligible households are improperly denied benefits, wrongly terminated from the program, or given less benefits than they are due. The U.S. General Accounting Office, in a recent in-depth examination of the food stamp program in two states, has found alarming rates of improper denials and terminations of low-income households.

- Reform the food stamp program rules that unfairly exclude many poor rural families. Under the program's current rules, a farmer's purchase of a piece of equipment is not considered a business cost, nor is depreciation on the equipment allowed. Thus, a farm family with only $5,000 in real annual income after it has had to spend $10,000 on farm machinery is considered to have $15,000 income, and is classified as ineligible. Second, the food stamp program automatically stops exempting from the assets limit any land or equipment when it no longer produces income. Therefore, if a poor farm family goes bankrupt and has to stop farming, the value of its farmland, farm machinery, and other items suddenly is counted as an asset, putting the family over the food stamp program's assets limit. Third, a poor family that needs a pickup truck or similar vehicle to haul its own fuel or water is ineligible for food stamps if the value of this vehicle exceeds the low limit set in food stamp guidelines on the permissible value of a car.
- Reinstate a key provision included in the Child Care Food Program prior to 1981 that allowed day care centers and homes to provide up to three meals and two snacks (or "meal supplements") a day. The 1981 cuts limited federal support to two meals and one snack a day, regardless of how many hours the children remain in child care.
- Allow charitable nonprofit organizations to operate modest summer food programs for poor children in summer months when school is out. Restricting the organizations that can operate summer food programs at the local level to schools and government agencies, excluding nonprofit organizations that previously ran many of the programs, has had the effect of ending the program in many areas (especially rural areas) where school districts and local government agencies decline to operate the program. Eligibility should be restored partially, enabling nonprofit organizations to run small or moderate-sized programs. To address concerns about abuse of the programs by large nonprofit groups and vendors, such organizations would be eligible only if they prepared their own meals or contracted with a school or public entity for the meals.

These proposals represent first steps. If enacted, they still would not make up for all of the cuts made in food assistance during the Reagan years. To reverse these trends and address our nation's serious hunger problem, we must mount a long-term and major national effort that will improve wages, income maintenance and low-income housing programs, and the food stamp program, and expand the WIC program. We must also reduce unemployment, so that families will be able to meet their subsistence needs, including the fundamental human right to adequate food.

Nutrition: Funding and Budget Requests, FY 1981-FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	Food Stamps	WIC	School Lunch[1]	School Breakfast	Child Care Food Program	Summer Food
FY 1981 actual	$11,470.0[2]	$900.0	$3,004.5	$322.6	$295.0	$148.8
FY 1982 proposed	9,756.0	637.5	2,120.0	299.5	242.8	0.0
FY 1982 actual	11,079.3[2]	904.3	2,486.4	319.4	270.5	88.8
FY 1983 proposed	9,531.1	637.5[3]	2,665.3	—[4]	—[4]	0.0
FY 1983 actual	11,989.7	1,160.0	2,833.5	354.4	335.2	91.9
FY 1984 proposed	10,901.3	1,160.0	2,709.3	—[4]	—[4]	—[4]
FY 1984 actual	11,722.9	1,360.0	3,004.1	364.9	378.1	104.6
FY 1985 proposed	10,780.9	1,254.3	3,138.4	393.4	—[4]	—[4]
FY 1985 actual	11,743.0	1,500.0	3,134.9	407.0	434.9	115.1
FY 1986 proposed	11,855.8	1,479.8	2,868.5	414.5	322.3	117.2
FY 1986 actual	11,764.9	1,580.5	3,158.5	404.9	475.8	121.8
After Gramm-Rudman	11,762.3	1,580.5	3,158.5	404.9	475.8	121.8
FY 1987 proposed	11,518.6	1,617.0	2,911.2	414.1	338.1	111.7
FY 1987 actual	11,793.3	1,663.5	3,478.2	468.3	551.3	128.0
FY 1988 proposed	11,684.6	1,687.5	3,038.9	454.5	373.6	115.4
FY 1988 actual	12,638.9	1,802.4	3,497.3	483.4	550.1	137.6
FY 1989 proposed	12,519.7	1,871.9[5]	3,709.8	514.5	641.2	147.8

[1] Includes commodities for child nutrition.

[2] Actual food stamp funding levels shown here for FY 1981 and FY 1982 include funds for the food stamp program in Puerto Rico through June 30, 1982. Food stamp funding levels for other years do not include Puerto Rico, since the food stamp program in Puerto Rico was ended on June 30, 1982 and replaced by a nutrition block grant. The Puerto Rico block grant is funded at $206.5 million in the last quarter of FY 1982, $825 million a year for FY 1983 through FY 1986, and $852.5 million in FY 1987.

[3] Proposed to repeal, include in Maternal and Child Health Block Grant; funding would have been cut by 30 percent.

[4] Proposed to repeal, include in block grant.

[5] Technically, the Administration's budget proposal consists of a single request of $1,923.8 million for WIC and the Commodity Supplemental Food Program. In FY 1988, WIC is funded at a $1,802.4 million level and CSFP is funded at a $50 million level. The proposed $1,923.8 million level for FY 1989 represents a 3.86 percent increase over the combined FY 1988 funding level for the two programs. The amount shown in the chart for WIC—$1,871.9 million—represents WIC's share of the $1,923.8 million request and is derived by increasing the FY 1988 WIC appropriation by 3.86 percent.

EDUCATION

All children need a sound education, both for their own well-being and for the well-being of our nation. In early childhood they benefit from preschool programs that emphasize the development of language, communication, and social skills. During their school years they need the educational and related services that enable them to achieve their full potential and enhance their working careers.

Today a good education is more important than ever before to a young person's employment prospects. During this century the proportion of jobs that are in the agricultural, blue collar, and manufacturing sectors (forms of employment that generally require less reading and writing skill) has fallen dramatically, replaced by employment in the white collar and service sectors, which require more such skills. In 1900 white collar and service sector jobs accounted for only one-sixth of all employment, while agriculture, blue collar, and manufacturing accounted for three-quarters of jobs. By 1981, however, more than 50 percent of employment was in the white collar and service sectors. And the remaining blue collar, agricultural, and manufacturing jobs now require far more reading and writing skills than previously.

Today a young man or woman with a good education has much greater earning power than peers who are not as well educated. According to a recent Census Bureau report, a high school diploma boosted earning power by an average of $352 a month in 1984. An undergraduate degree increased earnings by an average of $672 a month over those of peers who attended but did not complete college.

In coming decades, the importance of education to landing a good job—or any job at all—will increase. The U.S. job market is growing fastest in occupations that require more education. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, more than half of the new jobs created in the 1984-2000 period will require some education beyond high school, and almost all of these will be filled by college graduates. Many other jobs will be created in the service occupations, administrative support, and marketing and sales fields. Even these jobs, which have requirements that fall in the middle of the current range of skills required by jobs, demand solid basic skills in reading, adding and subtracting, and speaking and thinking clearly.

The Occupations of the Future Will Require More Education

	Current Jobs	New Jobs
Total	100%	100%
8 Years or Less	6%	4%
1-3 Years of High School	12%	10%
1-4 Years of High School	40%	35%
1-3 Years of College	20%	22%
4 Years of College or More	22%	30%
Median Years of School	12.8	13.5

Source: Reprinted with permission from *WORKFORCE 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st Century*, Hudson Institute, 1987.

As the demands of the job market shift, Americans with less education will be left behind in growing numbers. Blacks and Hispanics will be particularly vulnerable to such changes. According to the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, both groups are 35 percent more likely than non-minorities to be employed in occupations expected to lose the most employees between 1978 and 1990.

Education is not only the key to each young person's economic survival, it is essential to our nation's long-term economic health. In particular, a U.S. work force with strong skills in math, science, and foreign languages is considered crucially important for international trade competitiveness. Analysts cite American students' weaknesses in these areas as one reason our nation is faltering in the trade arena. Although U.S. elementary and secondary students score higher than the international average in reading and literature, using reliable tests of comparative achievement, they score lower in science, mathematics, and foreign languages, according to a 1987 Congressional Research Service report.

According to a 1987 report by the Committee for Economic Development, "if present trends continue without corrective actions, American business will confront a severe employment crisis. The scarcity of well-educated and well-qualified people in the work force will seriously damage this country's competitive position in an increasingly challenging global marketplace. Current projections point to a serious labor shortage in only a few years. By 1990, the impact of new technologies is expected to drive total private-sector demand for employment to 156.6 million jobs, nearly twice that in 1978. If these estimates are only close to the mark, there will be a shortage of more than 23 million Americans willing and able to work. Our industries will be unable to grow and compete because an expanding educational underclass will be unable to meet the demands of such jobs."

Millions of Young People Are Served Inadequately by Our Education System

In 1986, 39.7 million American students were enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools in 16,000 school districts. Millions of these young people, especially those growing up in better-off communities where schools are more likely to have adequate resources and teaching staff, will leave these schools with diplomas and strong basic skills. But millions of other students—including a disproportionate number from disadvantaged backgrounds—will not.

The proportion of Americans graduating from high school by age eighteen, which rose gradually throughout this century until the middle 1960s, has since leveled off. A large percentage of students still drop out. According to the U.S. Department of Education's High School and Beyond study, 16.4 percent of all students who were sophomores in 1980 did not graduate from high school two years later—a conservative estimate of the dropout rate because it does not count the many students who dropped out before their sophomore year.

Number of High School Graduates Compared with Population 17 Years of Age

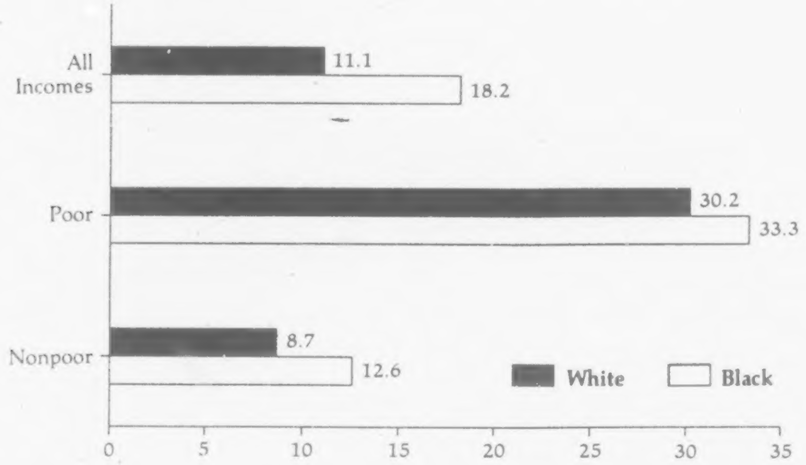
School Year	Number per 100
1900	6.4
1920	16.8
1940	50.8
1950	59.0
1960	64.9
1970	76.7
1974	74.4
1978	73.0
1980	71.4
1981	71.8
1982	72.9
1983	73.3
1984	73.9
1985	73.3

Because of the shifts in the job market, dropping out is devastating to a young person's future. In 1984 men twenty-five to sixty-four years old who had not finished high school earned only 78 percent of the average earnings of high school graduates and about 56 percent of the average earnings of those who had attended at least some college.

Poor children, regardless of race, are three times as likely as affluent children to drop out. Indeed, poverty, not race, is the key predictor of dropping out. This is clearly shown by the closely comparable dropout rates for poor black youths (33.3 percent) and poor white youths (30.2 percent). In both racial groups, the dropout rate is far lower for non-poor youths: 12.6 percent of non-poor black youths drop out, as do 8.7 percent of non-poor white youths.

Because minority students are far more likely to be poor, their overall dropout rate is higher. The dropout rate for white students is 13.7 percent,

Percentages of Persons Ages 20-21 Who Are Not Enrolled in School and Are Not High School Graduates, by Race and Poverty Status, 1986



while the overall rate for blacks is 21.6 percent, for Hispanics 18 percent, and for Native Americans/Alaskans 27.1 percent. (One in three dropouts from the 1980 sophomore class resumed his or her education and graduated by 1984. Blacks and Hispanics were less likely to be in this group.)

A further indicator that the system fails many children—and a major contributor to high dropout rates—is the low academic achievement of many disadvantaged children relative to their peers. Although black and Hispanic students have narrowed the achievement gap between themselves and their non-minority peers, the gap remains sizable.

- According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, between 1971 and 1984 there were notable gains in reading achievement of black and Hispanic nine-year-old, thirteen-year-old, and seventeen-year-old students, while white students made only modest gains. Nonetheless, the average reading proficiency level of minority seventeen-year-olds was only slightly better than that of white thirteen-year-olds.
- Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) data also indicate a narrowing but still significant gap. Since 1977 average verbal scores among blacks have improved 21 percent and average math scores have improved 20 percent. Despite these gains, in 1984 the average scores of blacks had risen only to the equivalent of the sixteenth percentile of non-minority scores.

Lower basic skills have troubling social consequences for the children affected. Youths who by age eighteen have the weakest reading and math skills, when compared with those with above-average basic skills, are:

- Eight times more likely to bear children out of wedlock;
- Nine times more likely to drop out of school before graduation;
- Five times more likely to be both out of work and out of school.

Growing up in poverty dramatically increases a young person's chances of ending up with weak basic skills. Nearly half of all poor youths have reading and math skills that place them in the bottom fifth of the basic skills distribution, and more than three-fourths of all poor youths have below-average basic skills.

Policymakers, the business community, the public, and educators themselves are sounding the alarm, prompted by this disturbing evidence that schools are failing to teach millions of American children.

- The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Elementary and Secondary Education Policy asserts in *Making the Grade,* issued in 1983, that "the nation's public schools are in trouble."
- A Committee for Economic Development report, *Investing in Our Children: Business and the Public Schools,* issued in September of 1985, indicates that the educational system is not preparing students for the world of work.
- A report prepared by the National Association of Manufacturers in 1987 claims the quality of the nation's labor force has suffered as a consequence of an inadequate educational system, with resulting high illiteracy rates, poor math and science training, high dropout rates, and inadequate training of displaced workers.
- The "19th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools," conducted in 1987, reported that only about one-fourth of the public would give the schools nationally a grade of A or B.

Schools Often Perpetuate Rather Than Compensate for Poor Students' Disadvantages

Students from backgrounds of poverty, regardless of their race, usually enter the classroom for the first time already at some disadvantage. This disadvantage typically reflects their circumstances, not their potential. Instead of making up for the ill effects of growing up in poverty, however, the school experience too often compounds them.

From their birth on, poor children often have not received the basic care and sustenance they need to get off to an even start in school. Poor parents are less likely to have been able to afford prenatal care, putting their babies at higher risk of being born at low birthweight, an often preventable condition that can lead to learning disabilities. The approximately 250,000 low-birthweight births a year in the United States mean that many children enter each kindergarten class unnecessarily hampered by educational impairments. Poor children are less likely to receive key building blocks of learning and development: adequate nutrition, timely and quality medical care, parental support for their learning (poor children's parents are disproportionately less educated), and quality child care and preschool experiences (see Head Start chapter). Each of these deficits detracts from a child's early development and subsequent school performance.

In addition, a poor child's public school experience is far too often inferior to that of his or her more advantaged peers. The resources a school can devote to teaching children varies widely from district to district and state to state, and is highly correlated to community resources. State funds accounted for 50 percent of elementary and secondary school revenues in 1986-1987. Local tax revenues contributed another 43.8 percent. The amount of per pupil expenditures fluctuates dramatically among states, depending to a significant degree on the state's wealth. For example, in the 1986-1987 school year New Jersey (a state with a $17,211 annual per capita personal income) spent $6,177 per pupil, while Alabama (with a $10,673 annual per capita personal income) spent only $2,120. There are also wide discrepancies in spending within states. Even in New Jersey, which has attempted to compensate for these local variations, per pupil expenditures ranged from a low of $3,540 per pupil in a poor district to $7,642 per pupil in a wealthy district.

Even within a district, school officials often provide more resources to schools with higher proportions of well-off children. A July 2, 1987, *New York Times* article, "Two Bronx Schools: Study in Inequality" by Lydia Chavez, contrasted the resources of the schools located in the wealthier northern part of District 10 in the Bronx with those of the schools located in the district's poorer southern part.

- On average, 25 percent of the teachers at the southern schools are inexperienced, compared with 15 percent at the northern schools.
- The northern schools, on average, have one-third to one-half more computers for each student.
- Although the northern schools house only the number of students they were intended to handle, the southern schools operate at an average of 140 percent of capacity.
- Maintenance money is allocated without respect to the number of students, giving one northern school, at 81 percent capacity, the same budget for maintenance as one southern school operating at 136 percent of capacity.

Minority students are more likely to attend schools with fewer resources because they are more likely to be poor and because *de facto* segregation lingers in the schools. A recent study by Gary Orfield, a University of Chicago expert on desegregation, found that the level of segregation of black students remained virtually unchanged between 1972 and 1984, with nearly two-thirds of blacks attending predominantly minority schools. Hispanics fared even worse: nationwide, the percentage of Hispanics attending predominantly minority schools actually increased from 54.8 percent in 1968 to 70.6 percent in 1984.

Inequalities are often heightened within individual schools. Practices such as the "tracking" of students exacerbate differences in achievement between low-income and minority students and their more advantaged peers, according to the National Coalition of Advocates for Students.

Beginning as early as the first grade, economically disadvantaged and minority students are often tracked into inferior classes. As early as third grade, the composition of these groups tends to become fixed. Children in the lower tracks, who receive schooling that is inferior in curriculum content, frequency of instruction, quality of teacher-pupil interaction, and resources, predictably begin to achieve less. Their learning potential falls victim to lowered expectations.

According to a 1985 study, *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality,* by Jeannie Oakes of the RAND Corporation, by the time many disadvantaged students reach high school they end up in general or vocational educational classes that hamper their chances of continuing their education after high school or of acquiring basic academic skills they need for the work place. Data from the National Center for Educational Statistics indicate that among 1980 high school seniors with annual family incomes of less than $7,000, only 26 percent were in the academic track, while 71 percent were in the general or vocational tracks. In contrast, among seniors with annual family incomes of more than $38,000, 55 percent were in the academic track and 44 percent were in the general or vocational tracks.

The state education reform movement, now in its fifth year, has required many students to meet higher promotion and graduation standards without providing enough resources to help them do so. For example, thirty-three states have stiffened their graduation requirements, in many cases holding back students who fail to meet them. This practice is not only costly (averaging about $4,000 per pupil per year to repeat a grade), but often futile: research indicates that children gain little by repeating a grade. Furthermore, holding children back means many of them will be over age when they enter junior high—making them significantly more likely to drop out of school.

Schools Can Help Provide an Even Start to All Students

Schools can make a substantial difference in the difficult odds facing poor and minority children. Repeated studies and demonstrations prove that, given timely and effective schooling, disadvantaged youngsters can perform as well as their peers. Successful practices include early educational interventions, effective school leadership, summer classes, and combining high expectations for student performance with tutoring and parent training and involvement.

- In a recent study by psychiatrist H. Joseph Horacek, one group of disadvantaged children received extra preschool and school-age interventions, while a second group received no special help at all. At the end of their third school year, children in the first group experienced a rate of grade failure one-third that of children in the other group, and virtually as low as that of average-risk children in another control group.
- The effective leadership of principal Felton Johnson has transformed Community Intermediate School 229 in New York City, a disadvantaged minority public school typical of many inner-city schools, into a model school, according to the Public Education Association of New York. In the first year of its existence as an intermediate school, only 29 percent of the students were reading on grade level. The school since has gained a reputation for academic excellence through innovative individualized learning programs such as peer tutoring and intensive reading and writing programs, along with a "spiralling" homework plan that encourages students to review previous work while tackling new assignments.
- Research indicates that many educationally disadvantaged students lose substantial ground during the summer months. But an innovative program in the New Orleans schools has improved student scores dramatically by using the summer months to provide extra reading, computer literacy, and fine arts instruction to some of the poorest students, as well as in-service training in reading instruction to teachers. The program, operated by the Southern Coalition for Educational Equity, now serves seven New Orleans elementary and middle schools.

The Federal Government Must Build on Proven Successes to Help Assure All Children a Decent Education

Despite the crucial importance of ensuring a good education for every American child, the federal government has been decreasing its commitment to this goal. Even as states have moved ahead with education reforms and some significant funding increases, federal efforts have faltered. Between 1980 and 1986 an additional $4.2 billion in constant dollars was made available by the states and local school districts for elementary and secondary education. However, during the same period—1980 to 1986—federal spending for education decreased by the same amount. In 1979-1980 the federal government contributed 9.2 percent of the total school dollar for elementary and secondary schools. By 1986-1987, however, the federal contribution had dropped to 6.7 percent. This means that poor and minority children have lost ground, since the vast majority of the state and local spending increases were not targeted on helping their education, while many of the reduced federal programs were.

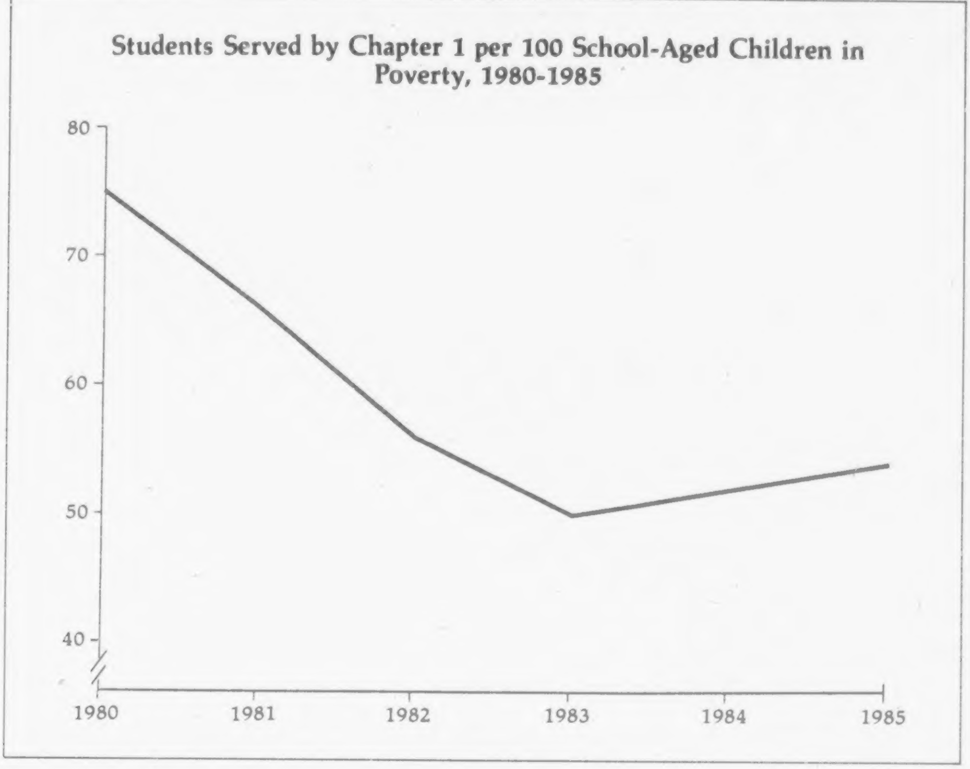
The federal government has retreated from the important role in education it had assumed in recent decades—enhancing the educational opportunities of poor and minority students—despite a track record of success in this area. At the peak of such federal efforts in the 1970s, a range of programs brought about substantial improvement in the educational performance of the students targeted for help. Almost all of these programs, which never had enough funding to serve all eligible children, have been battered by Reagan-era cuts and freezes.

Chapter 1 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981

Chapter 1 funds help support remedial education programs (usually in elementary schools) that are designed to give poor children the extra help they need to avoid falling behind their peers. The main Chapter 1 component gives funds to local education agencies (LEAs) based on the number of children living in poor families, requiring this help to be targeted on the most educationally disadvantaged children in each district. Seventy-five percent of the LEA funds are used for basic instructional services, such as compensatory instruction in reading and math. Other parts of Chapter 1 fund state agencies that provide service to migrant, handicapped, and neglected or delinquent children.

The Department of Education's National Assessment of Chapter 1 found that there was an upward movement in percentile for Chapter 1 students in reading and math in almost all grades in the 1983-1984 school year. Elementary students tended to improve by as much as four to five percentile ranks in reading and five to seven in math. Moreover, by helping poor children keep up in school, Chapter 1 saves the cost of grade repetition, which is more than four times as high as that of Chapter 1 services.

Chapter 1 was funded at $3.5 billion in FY 1981. A large cut in FY 1982 was followed by some funding increases, but the FY 1988 appropriation of $4.328 billion is actually almost $200 million less in inflation-adjusted dollars than the FY 1981 total. Because this decrease has come at a time when increasing numbers of children are in poverty, the program is serving a far smaller proportion of eligible children. Chapter 1 served only fifty-four students for every 100 poor school-aged children in 1985; in 1980, this ratio was seventy-five per 100.



Education for All Handicapped Children Act (Public Law 94-142)

Before this law's enactment in 1975, virtually every state in the union excluded many handicapped children from school and put other handicapped children in programs ill-suited to their needs. PL 94-142 ensures that every handicapped child between the ages of three and twenty-one who resides in a state participating in the program has a right to a free and appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment. The program serves youngsters with a range of handicapping conditions—from those with mild learning disabilities to those who are severely multiply handicapped. The Act also provides funds for: educational services and demonstration programs for preschool handicapped children; state and local efforts to provide education for deaf, blind, and severely handicapped children; programs for handicapped youths who are making the transition to postsecondary education or employment; and a range of other activities, including the operation of resource centers, research, training, and dissemination of information.

Repeated studies have shown that providing special education and related services to handicapped children in their early years helps them with their later learning and is cost-effective, reducing the need for subsequent and costly services. One study recently conducted by the Louisiana State Department of Education shows that handicapped three- to five-year-olds make substantial gains in major skill areas if they get this help.

The program has helped millions of handicapped children come closer to achieving their potential. The New York State Education Department concluded in a recent study that mildly handicapped secondary school students can succeed in school and earn high school diplomas when they are given access to regular education and appropriate special education courses.

While Congress has appropriated substantially more money for PL 94-142 than the Reagan Administration has requested, the federal contribution for programs for the handicapped has dropped far below the proportion initially promised by PL 94-142: 40 percent of the national per pupil expenditure for such students. Before the beginning of the Reagan Administration the appropriation was only 12 percent of the average per pupil expenditure. It bottomed out in 1981-1983 at 7 percent, and currently is approximately 10 percent.

Bilingual Education Act

This federal act serves children for whom English is a second language. It provides a wide variety of educational programs. Transitional bilingual educational programs give a child sufficient instruction in his or her native language to enable the child to meet a school's requirements for promotion and graduation. Another variety, special alternative instructional programs, need not use a child's native language but help the child become sufficiently competent in English to progress and graduate. Yet another type of program, developmental bilingual education programs, assists equal numbers of children with limited English proficiency and children who speak fluent English to achieve competence in English and a second language. Grants also are used to strengthen effective programs for demonstration purposes and to help students' family members learn English. The Act also provides funds for data collection, evaluation, research, and the operation of a clearinghouse, as well as for support services that include teacher training and fellowships and technical assistance to school districts.

In a 1987 U.S. General Accounting Office report on bilingual education, eight of ten experts concluded that some degree of use of the native language in the classroom helps students learn English. Another well-respected study, "Effective Instructional Practice in Bilingual Education" by Courtney Cazden of Harvard University, demonstrates that effective instructional practices in bilingual education produce significantly higher achievement than is achieved in other schools for comparable children.

Yet federal bilingual education funds are well below FY 1981 levels. Studies suggest that in 1985 there were between 2.4 million and 3.6 million students with limited English proficiency in the United States in need of such services, but based on Department of Education estimates, only a small minority of such students are being served.

If funds are not dramatically increased, this shortfall will become even more dire by the year 2000, when the number of students with limited English proficiency will have increased by an estimated 35 percent.

Federal Efforts Targeted on the Special Educational Needs of Children from Native American, Refugee, and Migrant Families

The Migrant High School Equivalency Program (HEP) is designed to help migrant children who often do not attend school regularly because they help their parents do farm work. The program helps children obtain the equivalent of secondary school diplomas and gain employment or admission to postsecondary education. The program is working: more than 80 percent of students participating in HEP in 1980-1984 earned high school equivalency certificates. Despite its success and rising inflation, HEP received fewer funds in FY 1986 than it did in FY 1980.

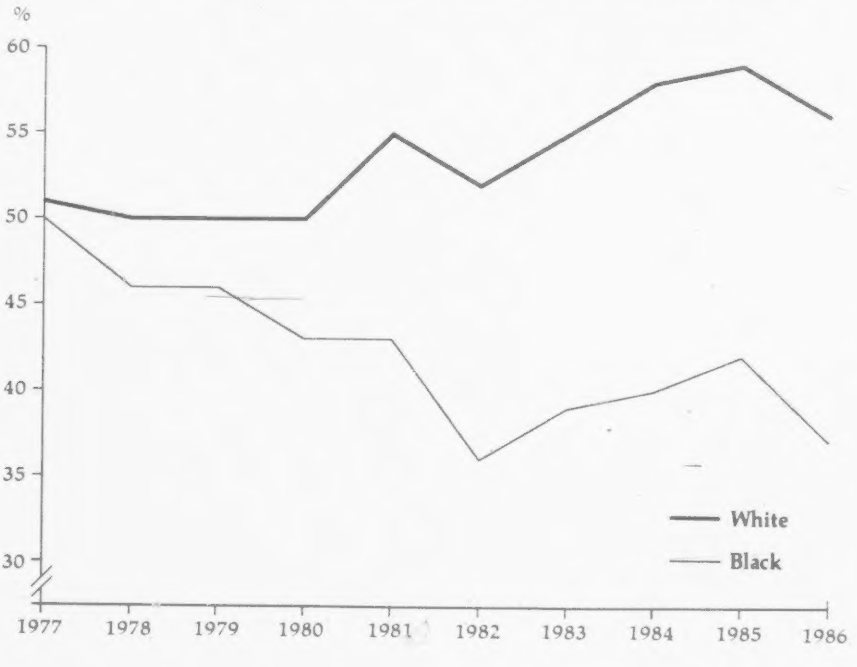
Federal Efforts Designed To Help Economically Disadvantaged Students Attend College

The means-tested Pell grants program provides direct grant aid to low-income students. Federal loan assistance is available to low- and middle-income students through Guaranteed Student Loans. The College Work Study Program provides funds to subsidize jobs for low-income students. The "TRIO" program for disadvantaged students provides counseling, tutoring, and other supportive services to low-income students who are from the first generation in their families to attend college.

Millions of low-income and minority students would be unable to attend college without financial aid. Obviously, a young person whose family's total annual income is less than $12,000 cannot pay the costs of college today—a $2,214 average for tuition alone, plus housing, books, and fees. The vital importance of these federal student aid programs is shown clearly by the very high proportion of low-income students who rely on Pell grants to attend college. About eight of ten white low-income aid recipients receive Pell grants, and nearly nine of ten such minority students receive them.

Such aid also has proven essential to enable low-income youths (including minority youths) to stay in college longer. Black students who receive financial aid are twice as likely to stay in four-year colleges until completion as those who do not. Low-income students served by TRIO programs such as Upward Bound and Special Services to Disadvantaged Students are more than twice as likely to complete their first year in college and four times as likely to earn college degrees as non-participating low-income students.

Percentage of Recent 16- to 24-Year-Old High School Graduates Who Were Enrolled in College, October 1977-1986, by Race



Federal support for college education has not kept pace with drastic increases in tuition costs. In FY 1987 Pell grants provided a maximum of $2,100 per poor student—only 20 percent more than the maximum award in FY 1980. During the same period the cost of tuition in public and private colleges soared by more than 75 percent. As a result of declining federal aid and worsening economic problems, a smaller percentage of disadvantaged young people—including minority youths—are going on to college. Between 1977 and 1986, while the percentage of recent sixteen- to twenty-four-year-old white high school graduates attending college increased from 51 to 56 percent, the percentage of black graduates attending college declined from 50 to 36.5 percent, and the percentage of Hispanics declined from 51 to 44.4 percent.

The federal government must once again take a leadership role in assuring that every American child can get a decent education. In its recent report, *Children in Need,* the Committee for Economic Development called for the federal government to "reaffirm its long-standing commitment to ensure that the disadvantaged have access to quality education. Without equity, there can be no real excellence in education."

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

Although the Reagan Administration's education budget proposal of $21.2 billion for FY 1989 calls for $851 million more than the FY 1988 appropriation (or a 4.2 percent increase), the aggregate added funds will only equal inflation-generated cost increases, leaving many programs without the significant real boost they need.

First, the President proposes modest increases for a number of major elementary and secondary education programs, although the increases fall far short of restoring funds lost in recent years and meeting the needs of the many unserved students.

- Chapter 1: Although the Department of Education portion of the budget cites the education of disadvantaged elementary and secondary school children as a high priority, the budget only increases the financial assistance to local school districts for this purpose by $238 million. This increase of about 5 percent is far less than the $500 million endorsed by H.R. 5, an omnibus education bill, as a necessary first step toward fully funding the program by 1993.
- Education for the Handicapped: The state grant program for handicapped children would be increased by $42.5 million, less than expected inflation and far less than this high priority program needs. In addition, grants awarded to states to assist them in providing special education and related services to handicapped preschool children, funded at $201.1 million in FY 1988, would be increased by only $4 million. Grants to states for developing and implementing statewide systems of coordinated services to handicapped children from birth through age two, funded at $67 million in FY 1988, would be increased by a mere $1.4 million.
- Bilingual education programs: The Administration proposes an addition of $10 million above the FY 1988 appropriation of $146.6 million.
- Title III support for developing institutions: The Title III program in FY 1988 provides $73 million for assistance to historically black colleges and universities, and an additional $79 million for financially struggling

institutions (often community colleges) that serve disadvantaged students, many of whom are members of minority groups. While the Administration would increase slightly the black colleges' and universities' set-aside, by $7 million, it would slash the other program by $23 million.

Other programs would be frozen at the FY 1988 appropriated levels—$888 million for vocational education, $67.7 million for Indian Education, $23.5 million for Training and Advisory Services under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, $44 million for Immigrant and Refugee Education, and $23.9 million for Dropout Prevention Demonstrations.

In other areas, the Administration's FY 1989 budget proposes major reductions in or elimination of important programs. Public library services and construction, intended to ensure that all communities have access to public libraries, would be cut nearly in half, from $135.1 to $76 million.

The programs the President would abolish include a number of smaller federal initiatives that were established to address specific national priorities:

- The High School Equivalency Program (HEP) and the College Migrant Program (CAMP), which help low-income migrant and seasonal farmworkers gain high school diplomas or equivalency certificates and which provide stipends and special services to first-year college students ($8.6 million for the programs combined in FY 1988).
- The Women's Educational Equity Program, which is designed to ensure equal access to educational opportunities for girls and women ($3.4 million in FY 1988).
- The Follow-Through Program, which bolsters gains made by Head Start children through educational services in the early elementary grades ($7.1 million in FY 1988).
- Education of Homeless Children and Youth, which provides funds to each state educational agency to coordinate and carry out a state plan for the education of homeless children and youths ($9.4 million in FY 1988).

Finally, although the Administration is requesting a $100 increase in the maximum annual Pell grant provided to needy college students by adding $750.6 million to the program's $4.26 billion FY 1988 level, part of this increase will come at the expense of other programs that provide federal financial aid to college students.

Programs targeted for dramatic cuts include:

- The Perkins Loan Program (formerly known as National Direct Student Loans): The Administration is proposing to slash $189 million from this $211 million program for low- and moderate-income students while expanding the smaller, experimental Income Contingent Loan (ICL) program from $4.3 million to $50 million.
- The State Student Incentive Grant program: These incentive grants to states assist them in developing needs-based grant programs for postsecondary students. This program, appropriated at $73 million in FY 1988, is targeted for elimination.

Other higher education programs will receive only modest increases or level funding:

- The Supplementary Education Opportunity Grant program: This assistance enables many disadvantaged students to attend post-secondary educational institutions. Now funded at $408 million, an increase of only $8 million is proposed.
- The College Work-Study Program: This program helps institutions offer employment to students who demonstrate financial need. The Administration proposes an increase of $12 million above the $588 million appropriated in FY 1988.
- Special education programs for students from disadvantaged backgrounds (TRIO): The Administration would provide level funding (at $205.8 million) for this program, which provides funding for various post-secondary education outreach and student support services to encourage disadvantaged students to complete college.

CDF Recommendations

Federal, state, and local governments, organizations interested in education, educators, parents, and children must work together to ensure that all children receive an adequate education to prepare them for the challenges of the future. The following proposals are designed to build on existing successful programs and launch promising new initiatives.

- **Chapter 1.** Today, Chapter 1 services are effectively denied to about 50 percent of the children who need them. *All* eligible children must be provided this successful and cost-effective educational program. As a first step toward this goal, Chapter 1 must be reauthorized and given an appropriation increase of $500 million in real dollars for FY 1989. Funding must then continue to be increased by $500 million in real dollars each year through 1993 until all eligible children are served. Also, additional funds should be earmarked for grants to districts with high concentrations of low-income families. Finally, two new Chapter 1 components should be authorized and fully funded:
    - **Secondary school basic skills improvement and dropout prevention,** to reduce the number of youths who do not complete elementary and secondary education and to improve the basic skills of secondary school students. To begin this program, $200 million is needed.
    - **Even Start,** a program to assist parents to be more effective partners in their children's education by teaching them the techniques and skills necessary to help their children learn and to provide early childhood education for their children. For this, $50 million should be provided.
- **Bilingual education** provides bilingual education services to students with limited English proficiency and non-English speaking students. Despite an estimated 2.4 million to 3.6 million children ages five to thirteen in need of such services, the program currently serves fewer than 215,000 students. Approximately 160,000 additional students can be provided this essential educational service through an appropriation of $250 million in FY 1989. An increase in the appropriation for state education grants to $10 million also is needed to strengthen data collection and technical assistance.

- **Desegregation assistance.** To improve and expand the Magnet Schools Assistance Act, an appropriation of $150 million in FY 1989 is necessary. The increase will help elementary and secondary schools eliminate and prevent minority group isolation and strengthen academic and vocational skills in these schools.
- **Handicapped education** assists school districts to provide an appropriate education for handicapped children. Adequate funding in FY 1989 is required:
  - To provide states with 15 percent of the average per pupil expenditure for handicapped children, by increasing appropriations to $2.218 billion in FY 1989 for state and local programs; and
  - To provide preschool grants to serve an additional 26,842 handicapped three- to five-year-olds by increasing appropriations to $259 million, and to build the new early intervention programs for handicapped children to two years of age by appropriating $75 million.
- **Higher education.** Pell grants provide assistance to low-income students for their college and university expenses. A FY 1989 appropriation adequate to fund Pell grants at the maximum level of $2,600 per student is necessary.
- **The Family School Partnership Act** provides demonstration grants to local educational agencies for the development of innovative, promising family-school educational partnership activities. These would include supporting family efforts to work with children at home, training Chapter 1 school personnel to work effectively with families of participating students, training families and school personnel to build an educational partnership between home and school, and evaluating family involvement activities. The program should be authorized with $10 million in FY 1989 funding.

Education: Funding and Budget Requests, FY 1981-FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	Chapter I Compensatory Education	Chapter II	Bilingual Education	Education of the Handicapped	Vocational Education	Student Financial Assistance	Guaranteed Student Loans	TRIO
FY 1981 actual	$3,514.8	$536.8[1]	$175.0	$1,103.0	$779.2	$3,356.5	$2,523.3	$159.5
FY 1982 proposed	—[2]	4,361.7[2]	140.0	—[2]	623.4	3,793.7	1,773.8	159.5
FY 1982 actual	3,034.0	470.4	138.0	1,068.6	655.8	3,569.5	3,073.8	155.0
FY 1983 proposed	1,942.0	432.0	94.5	845.7	500.0[3]	1,800.0	2,484.6	82.2
FY 1983 actual	3,200.4	479.4	137.8	1,199.3	728.7	3,617.8	3,090.0	154.7
FY 1984 proposed	3,014.0	478.9	95.0	1,110.2	500.0[3]	3,567.8	2,047.1	35.0
FY 1984 actual	3,480.0	479.4	169.2	1,240.6	739.0	3,986.9	2,253.7	164.7
FY 1985 proposed	3,480.0	728.9[4]	139.2	1,214.4	738.5	3,654.0	2,840.7	82.4
FY 1985 actual	3,688.2	531.9	172.9	1,321.3	738.5[5]	4,871.0	3,078.0	174.9
FY 1986 proposed	3,646.6	531.9	142.9	1,306.1	738.5	3,569.0	2,714.5	82.4
FY 1986 actual	3,688.2	528.9	172.9[6]	1,411.0	838.8	4,887.0	3,300.0	176.4
After Gramm-Rudman	3,529.6	506.2	168.9[6]	1,349.7[7]	813.4[5]	4,675.4[8]	3,260.0[8]	168.8
FY 1987 proposed	3,688.2	528.9	143.0[8]	1,303.1	408.1	3,812.6	2,329.6	82.4
FY 1987 actual	3,944.2	529.3	180.6[6]	1,741.9	882.0[5]	5,483.0	2,717.0	176.4
FY 1988 proposed	4,144.2	529.3	143.1	1,488.2	0.0	3,336.0	1,176.6	82.4
FY 1988 actual	4,327.9	508.4	146.6	1,869.0	888.2	5,544.8	2,565.0	205.8
FY 1989 proposed	4,566.1	575.0	156.6	1,916.9	888.2	6,099.6	2,735.6	205.8

[1] Total FY 1981 funding level of Chapter II Block Grant antecedent programs.

[2] Proposed Elementary and Secondary Education Block Grant to consolidate fifty individual programs.

[3] Proposed Vocational and Adult Education Block Grant.

[4] Proposed increase to fund state education reform initiative recommended by National Commission on Excellence in Education.

[5] Includes bilingual vocational training.

[6] Includes migrant education.

[7] Excludes funds transferred to salaries and expenses.

[8] Bilingual vocational training transferred to Office of Vocational and Adult Education; includes funds authorized under Bilingual Education Act and since FY 1984 Emergency Immigrant Education Act.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

> At twenty, Maria felt she had reached a dead end. Having dropped out of high school in the ninth grade, she had neither the high school diploma nor General Equivalency Degree (GED) that most entry-level jobs in her community of Corpus Christi, Texas, required. Caring for her two young children was a responsibility that seemed to block her path to training, future employment, and helping her husband support the family.
>
> Then Maria found out about SER-Jobs for Progress, Inc., the local affiliate of a national network of community-based programs primarily serving Hispanic youths and adults. She enrolled in a vocational training program funded under the federal Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) to earn a GED and prepare for a career as an accountant. No child care assistance was available through the JTPA or elsewhere in the community, so Maria was forced to find friends and relatives who would care for her children while she attended class. Yet she persevered through this difficult period with the help of extensive counseling and individual support from SER staff.
>
> While in the program, Maria emerged as a strong leader among her peers, who were inspired by her courage and determination. After six months of computer-assisted remedial education, skills training, and typing classes, Maria graduated with her GED and landed a part-time job as a bookkeeper for a housekeeping service. The future looks brighter now for Maria and for her family.

Productive and economically sustaining work is an important milestone on a young person's road to adulthood. Paid employment lays the foundation for the fulfillment of dreams and the assumption of adult responsibilities, including marriage, setting up a home, and supporting a family. Without a firm initial foothold in the job market, many young people will find such achievements beyond their reach.

Young people need society's help to achieve this foothold. A good basic education is increasingly essential for young people seeking employment. Early exposure to the world of work, including its rewards and its demands, is also necessary to put teenagers on the right track. Most important, all youths need an opportunity, a job that gives them a chance to learn a trade and chart a future path for their work lives.

Our society has an enormous stake in ensuring that every young person obtains a good education and gets off to a strong start in the job market. By 1995 only 18 percent of the working-age population will be sixteen to twenty-four years old, compared with 27 percent in 1978. Increasing proportions of these young Americans will be from poor and minority households, and therefore at greater risk of not receiving the work preparation they need. The Hudson Institute estimates that only 15 percent of all new entrants into the labor force in the year 2000 will be white males who were born in the United States. We will need every young adult to be working at the best of his or her ability in order to build the base that can sustain economic growth and support America's children and retired adults in the twenty-first century.

America's productivity and future prosperity depend on our ability to train new generations of talented workers who will work hard and productively, spur innovation, and satisfy the labor demands of new and growing industries. The well-being and stability of tomorrow's families also rely upon the future work effort and earnings capacity of today's youths. But the future well-being of our nation is threatened by deteriorating employment prospects for young Americans today.

Young Workers Face Persistent Joblessness and Falling Earnings

Employment conditions for all youths have worsened significantly since the late 1970s, despite a decline in the size of the teenage population (a decline of more than 2 million between 1979 and 1986), which under normal conditions should have reduced teenage unemployment.

Employment and Unemployment

The official youth unemployment rate soared during the 1981-1982 recession and slowly came down later, but still remains somewhat above its prior level. In 1979 the unemployment rate for all teens was 16.1 percent. In 1987 the rate was 16.9 percent. The official jobless rate for black teens in 1987 was far higher, reaching 34.9 percent.

Another measure of labor market prospects for teenagers and young adults—full-time employment rates for non-college-bound youths—shows this deterioration even more dramatically. Less than one-half of all high school

Percentages of Dropouts and High School Graduates Not Enrolled in College, Younger than 20, Who Were Employed: 1968, 1974, and 1986

	Males		Females	
	Graduates	Dropouts	Graduates	Dropouts
March 1968	86.5	71.0	68.9	35.1
March 1974	85.6	72.4	69.1	44.7
March 1986	75.2	63.5	71.9	49.1

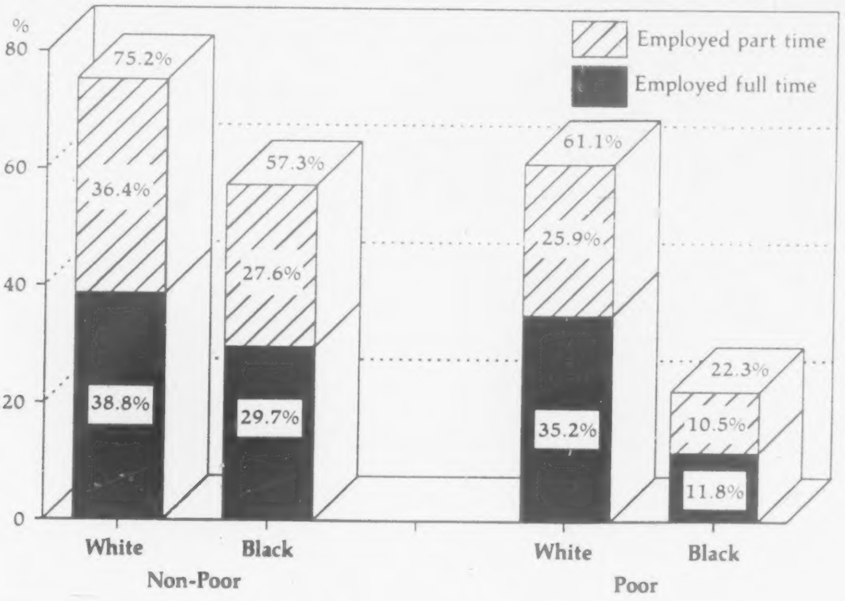
graduates younger than twenty and not enrolled in college held full-time jobs in 1986, compared with more than two-thirds in the late 1960s. High school dropouts have suffered similarly sharp declines in full-time employment. Only one in three male dropouts and one in seven female dropouts younger than age twenty worked full time in 1986.

Percentages of Dropouts and High School Graduates Not Enrolled in College, Younger than 20, Who Were Employed Full Time: 1968, 1974, and 1986

	Males		Females	
	Graduates	Dropouts	Graduates	Dropouts
March 1968	72.7	50.4	57.0	21.3
March 1974	69.6	38.0	47.6	16.3
March 1986	48.9	30.9	41.9	13.7

More teenagers and young adults seeking full-time jobs now are forced to accept part-time employment. Among all workers younger than twenty-five, the proportion involuntarily working part time because full-time employment is

Percentages of Non-Student Youths, Ages 15-19, Who Were Employed Full Time and Employed Part Time, by Race and 1986 Poverty Status, March 1987



Note: Hispanic data are not available.

not available increased by nearly 50 percent between 1979 and 1985. Young workers are twice as likely as older workers to be employed part time because they are unable to find full-time jobs.

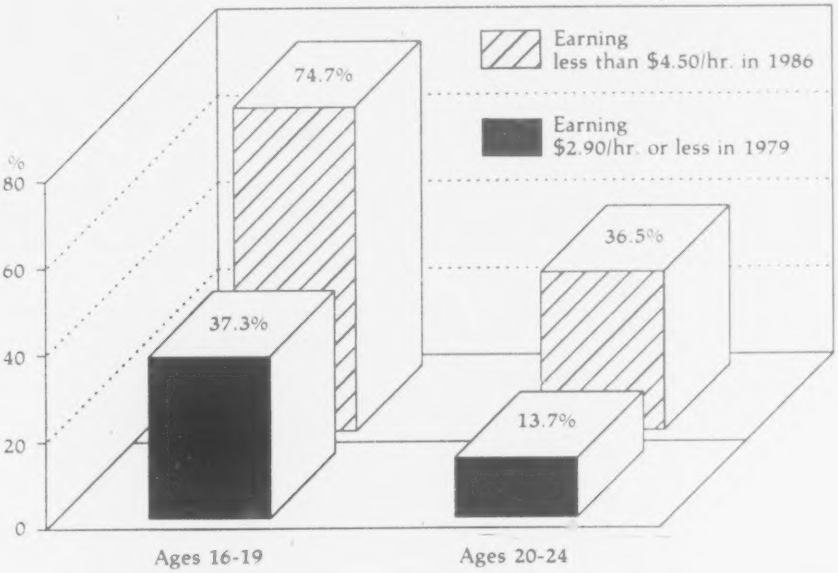
Poor and minority youths face the most severe problems finding work. Among teenagers from households with below-poverty incomes, fewer than one in three held a full-time job in March 1987. Many poor high school dropouts are virtually shut out of today's labor market. For example, the proportion of black male dropouts ages twenty to twenty-four with no earnings during the year soared from 14 percent in 1973 to 43 percent in 1984.

Earnings

Falling wages during the 1980s have damaged young workers' potential for self-sufficiency seriously. The proportion of young workers (not only teenagers, but also those in their early twenties) paid on an hourly basis who earn very low wages (less than the amount necessary to lift a family of three out of poverty with full-time, year-round work) has roughly doubled since the late 1970s. Two factors discussed later in this chapter—the failure of the federal government to raise the minimum wage in response to inflation and the loss of better-paying jobs in manufacturing sectors of the economy—have caused this dramatic rise in the share of young workers who earn inadequate wages.

Together, dwindling employment opportunities, especially for full-time jobs, and falling hourly wages have led to sharp declines in the average annual earnings of young men for more than a decade. Between 1973 and 1986, the average inflation-adjusted earnings of males ages twenty to twenty-four fell by

Percentages of Workers Ages 16-24 Paid on an Hourly Basis Earning the Inflation-Adjusted Value of the 1979 Minimum Wage or Less, 1979 and 1986



more than 25 percent. This large drop affected virtually all groups of young men—whether white, black, or Hispanic—although young black men suffered the most severe losses (nearly 50 percent). Young women, while still earning far less on average than their male peers, achieved slight gains in average earnings as their increasing labor force participation and growing access to better-paying jobs offset losses caused by eroding wages.

Declining earnings among young men have dramatically reduced their ability to support even small families. As of 1973 nearly 60 percent of all men ages twenty to twenty-four were able to earn enough to lift a family of three above the official federal poverty line, but only 42 percent could do so by 1984. Among young male high school dropouts, this decline was even more precipitous—only 32 percent had earnings above the three-person poverty line in 1984, compared with 59 percent in 1973.

Impact on Family Formation

These changes have far-reaching implications for the formation of young families. Young men with adequate earnings and decent employment prospects are more able to assume their share of the responsibility for a family and more likely to be viewed by their potential marriage partners as reliable and contributing spouses. For these reasons, young men with earnings above the three-person poverty line are three to four times more likely to be married than their peers without such adequate earnings. Not surprisingly, therefore, as fewer young men have been able to bring home adequate earnings, their marriage rates have fallen. These rates dropped by half from 1974 to 1985, with the most severe declines among high school dropouts and graduates not going on to college. One-third to one-half of the drop in marriage rates can be traced directly to the declining earnings of young men.

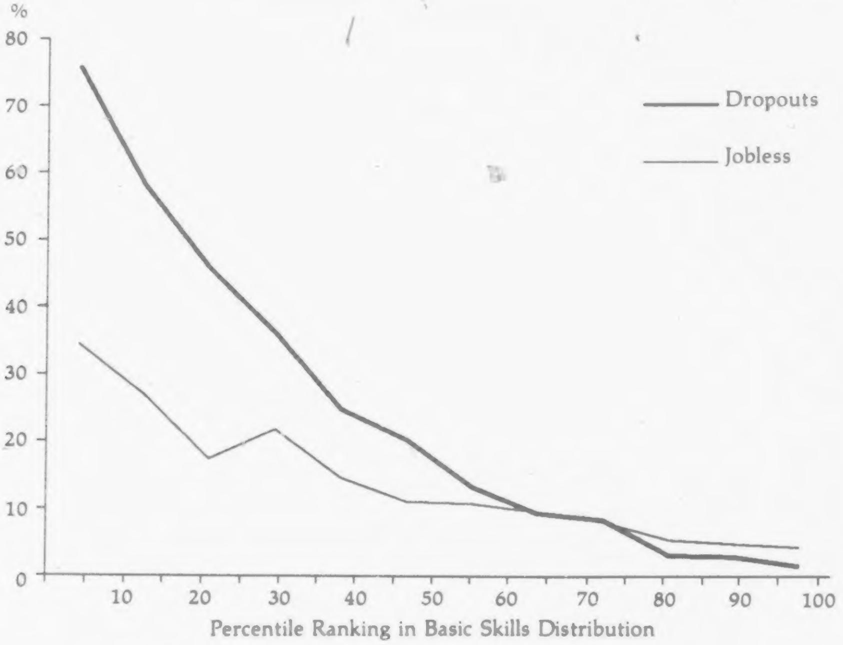
As a result of declining marriage rates, a larger proportion of American children now are born out of wedlock and live in single-parent households, with incomes below the poverty level. More than half of all births to teens, as well as one-quarter of births to women ages twenty to twenty-four, were out of wedlock in 1984. The increase in the percentage of families headed by young women (who on average have earnings well below those of their male counterparts) has contributed to the decline in the real median incomes of all young families: a fall of nearly one-fourth between 1973 and 1986. The poverty rate among young families has doubled. Fully one-half of all children living in families headed by persons younger than twenty-five, as well as three-fourths of all black children in such families, are now poor.

Four Major Reasons Why Young People Are Finding it Harder To Earn a Living

Many Young People Lack Basic Academic Skills

In their increasingly difficult struggle to find work at decent wages, many disadvantaged youths are hampered by a serious handicap: weak basic academic skills. Young Americans who by age eighteen have the weakest basic skills (in the lowest fifth of their age group) are between four and seven times more likely to drop out of school and be jobless in subsequent years than those with above-average skills.

Percentages of Persons Ages 19-23 Who Were Out of School Without a High School Diploma and Were Jobless, by Basic Skills Ranking, 1981



Source: Data from National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans, analyses by Dr. Andrew Sum, Center for Labor Market Studies, Northeastern University.

Poor and minority youths are heavily concentrated within this most vulnerable group. More than three-fourths of all poor youths have below-average basic skills.

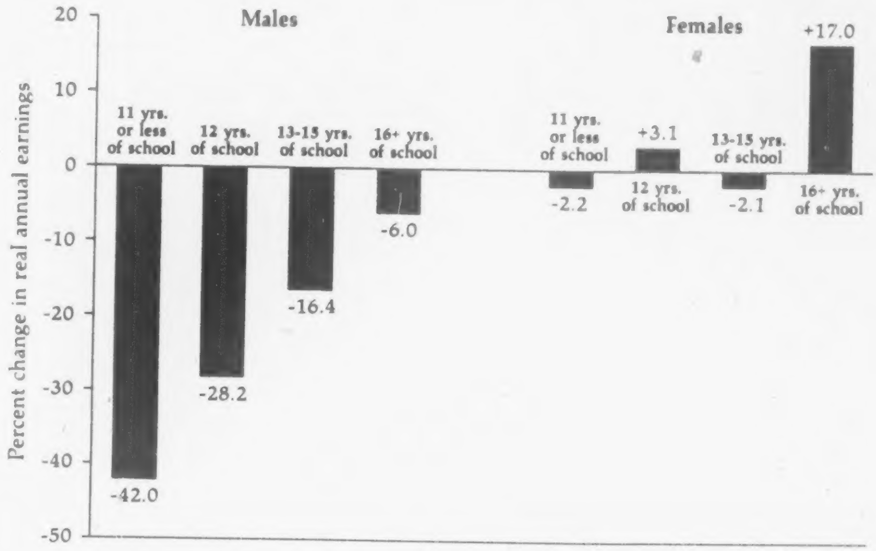
Lack of strong basic skills poses increasing problems for today's young workers because the skill demands of the job market are ratcheting upward faster than their skill levels. On average, the basic skills of America's youths have been improving over time, and the achievement gap between white and minority teens has narrowed significantly. Yet labor market demands have changed even more quickly, placing a growing premium on cognitive abilities and leaving those with weaker basic skills at greater relative disadvantage.

Growing up in poverty makes it more difficult for low-income youths to compete in this changing job market. Poor families have inadequate resources to meet even their children's most basic needs such as health care and nutrition. Poor children are also less likely to go to preschool. As a result, children who grow up in poverty often enter school with special problems that cause them to fall behind their more advantaged peers. The frequently poor quality of public schools in low-income neighborhoods tends to widen rather than reduce this learning gap, increasing the chances that poor and minority teens will not gain the strong basic academic skills they need to succeed in the labor market. (See the Education chapter.) Recent data from the National Assessment of

Educational Progress provide strong evidence that a young person's employment prospects hinge more than ever on acquiring basic academic skills such as reading, writing, and computing. Among young adults, those with stronger literacy skills have consistently higher employment rates, fewer periods of prolonged unemployment, and higher wage rates when employed. These findings are particularly dramatic for young women ages twenty-one to twenty-five: those with above-average literacy skills are twice as likely to be employed full time throughout the year, and three times as likely to earn more than $6.00 per hour, as are young women who have literacy skills in the bottom fourth of their peer group.

The pattern of recent earnings losses among men ages twenty to twenty-four also underscores the importance of education and basic academic skills. In the past two decades, as many decently paid jobs that demanded few or no academic skills have disappeared from the economy, young men with the least education have been hurt worst. For those without high school diplomas, average annual earnings fell 42 percent in real terms during the 1973-1986 period. Even high school graduates suffered a 28 percent loss. In contrast, among college-educated youths, young men were shielded from most (but not all) of these earnings losses, and young women college graduates actually experienced substantial gains in real earnings.

Percent Change Between 1973 and 1986 in Annual Earnings of 20- to 24-Year-Olds (Adjusted for Inflation) by Years of Schooling Completed*



*Subjects' major activity was not schooling at time of interview.

Poor Youths Lack Adequate Formal and Informal Job Networks

A young person seeking to move directly from high school into the world of work finds few formal, organized systems set up to help make that difficult transition. If there is a school counselor, he or she typically is assigned

The Employment Dilemma of Inner-City Black Youths

"A typical black ghetto youth is growing up in a neighborhood in which there's a paucity of professional or working class families. Most of the families are experiencing long-term welfare dependency or long-term spells of joblessness. In such an environment, he seldom comes into contact with friends who come from families with a steady breadwinner. What he sees is that even if you graduate from high school you're still going to be standing on the street corner without a job. Therefore, he internalizes the view that for him and others like him in his community, education is meaningless—so why bother to study. This environment prompts many students to drop out or to engage in behavior that, in many cases, is ultimately destructive to the community.

"But let's suppose that our young man is struggling to avoid that path. He is attempting to find a job and to overcome the obstacles he's facing. However, the job network system is broken down in these communities because of the increasing joblessness. Job network systems depend very heavily on a fair percentage of families who are working: people find out about jobs through friends and relatives. Because he lives in the inner-city ghetto, he's not tied into the job network. It's much more difficult for him to find out about a job or to be recommended for a job.

"The inner-city young woman is faced with similar problems. One additional problem she faces is that most of the young men in her community are not marriageable—that is, they are not employed—and they can't support a family. For example, in the Oakland community on Chicago's South Side, there were only eighteen employed males for every 100 females age sixteen and over in 1980. Twenty years ago, if a young inner-city woman got pregnant out of wedlock she could still have looked forward to marrying the young man and having a child in wedlock. Today, if she gets pregnant out of wedlock, she knows that the odds are very high that the child will be born out of wedlock."

Excerpts from an interview with Dr. William J. Wilson, The Lucy Flower Distinguished Service Professor of Sociology and Public Policy at the University of Chicago, and author of *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass and Public Policy* (The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

to hundreds of students and focuses primarily on college enrollment. The vast majority of American high schools have no direct job placement programs, and outside public or private employment agencies lack the resources or incentives to serve young job-seekers who have little or no prior work experience to offer. For these reasons, most teenagers not bound for college must rely upon informal networks—families, friends, and community contacts—to identify job vacancies and secure employment.

While such networks often help more well-off young people locate their first jobs, this process does not work well for poor and minority youths, especially those in inner-city areas. Their families and communities often provide few of the personal contacts or compelling role models that guide and assist most middle- and upper-income teenagers as they make this transition. Poor teenagers are less likely to have as many relatives (parents, aunts, uncles, and older siblings) or family friends who are employed. They therefore have less access to information about job openings or acquaintance with union officials or with employers and managers responsible for hiring decisions. Such youths are also less likely to acquire an understanding of career options and employer expectations through friends, neighbors, and relatives. Because they often must travel from their job-starved communities to find employment (and if from a minority background, often will encounter discrimination), poor youths are doubly disadvantaged: they need more encouragement and assistance in job-seeking, and receive less.

Structural Changes in the Economy Have Reduced Job Opportunities and Wages

Dwindling employment prospects in the manufacturing sector, a trend accelerated by the deep 1981-1982 recession, have diminished employment and earnings prospects for young workers with less than a college education. Until the early 1970s, youths with limited schooling who were willing to work in the frequently harsh conditions of the manufacturing industries had a decent chance to earn middle-class wages. Since 1974, however, the proportion of young men working in manufacturing jobs has declined by one-fourth, while the proportion employed in generally less lucrative retail trade and service occupations has increased by more than one-fifth. Gordon Berlin of the Ford Foundation and Andrew Sum of Northeastern University pointed out in their paper, "Toward a More Perfect Union: Basic Skills, Poor Families, and Our Economic Future," that manufacturing industries have failed to hire a new generation to replace retiring workers. This "silent firing" of young workers, as the authors characterize it, is the big untold story underlying the decline of this sector during the 1980s.

Industrial shifts and the severe recession of the early 1980s had a particularly large impact on young black workers, who depend most heavily on factory jobs to achieve middle-class earnings and typically lack the seniority to protect against layoffs. In 1974, 46 percent of employed black men ages twenty to twenty-four held blue-collar craft, operative, and foreman jobs. Just a decade later, only 26 percent did.

Jobs also have become scarcer for many poor and minority youths in our inner cities. A recent study by John Kasarda of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill found that, since 1970, major northeastern cities have lost between 29 and 43 percent of all jobs located in inner-city neighborhoods that were available to youths not holding high school diplomas. During this same period, poor and minority families (including many disadvantaged youths and adults lacking high school diplomas) became more concentrated and isolated in these central cities, as middle-class whites and blacks moved to the suburbs.

The Minimum Wage Has Eroded in Value

At the same time that jobs for teens and young adults with little education are getting scarcer, the wages those jobs provide are sinking lower. A major factor in this decline has been the failure of the federal government since 1981 to raise the federal minimum wage. The wage has remained stagnant at $3.35 per hour, despite the loss of nearly one-third of its real 1979 value due to years of inflation. The erosion in the wage's value means that full-time, year-round earnings from a minimum wage job have now sunk to a level that does not even reach three-fourths of the poverty level for a family of three. (See the Family Income chapter.)

In the past, opponents of the minimum wage have argued that a lower floor beneath wages would increase employment opportunities, with younger and more disadvantaged individuals profiting the most because employers could hire unskilled and poorly educated workers more cheaply. The experience of the 1980s directly refutes this theory, because the real value of the minimum wage has fallen dramatically but the job prospects of the young and disadvantaged have worsened. There is no evidence that restoring the minimum wage to its previous level (adjusted for inflation) would result in significant employment losses for teenagers and young adults.

Helping Young People Work: Neglected Lessons of our Federal Jobs Programs

Remedial education, vocational training, and programs of work experience for poor and minority youths can improve significantly their chances of obtaining employment at decent wages. When coupled with a strong federal commitment to combat recession, keep Americans employed, and maintain and bolster the earnings of low-wage workers, targeted youth employment initiatives can brighten the bleak prospects of needy youths, even in a changing job market.

During the past two decades, the federal government has made several modest attempts (and, more rarely, a few intensive efforts) to help young people who are struggling to enter the job market. Successful past and current programs include those structured by the federal government with funds earmarked by Congress, as well as others that were launched as state, local, or private initiatives but that relied significantly on federal dollars provided through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) or JTPA. Many program evaluations and carefully designed demonstration projects have shown that such efforts are effective, boosting future employment rates of poor and minority youths as well as substantially increasing their average annual earnings.

- Job Corps: Job Corps provides disadvantaged youths with basic education, vocational training, and (because it is a residential program) food, housing, medical care, and supportive services such as counseling. Working with participants who enter with an average sixth-grade reading level, come from highly disadvantaged backgrounds, and often have prior arrest records, this program has built an impressive record of performance. Every $1.00 invested in Job Corps returns $1.45 in benefits to society by increasing employment, earnings, and school completion rates while reducing crime and welfare costs.

- Jobs for America's Graduates (JAG): Growing out of a school-to-work transition program established in Delaware in 1979, JAG now provides nearly 10,000 high school seniors in eight states with counseling, peer support, employment preparation, and job placement assistance. JAG increases employment rates among participants by 23 percent and raises their average annual earnings by more than $1,300 (36 percent).
- Summer Training and Employment Program (STEP): The STEP program is a multi-site demonstration program launched and evaluated by Public/Private Ventures, a nonprofit organization based in Philadelphia. STEP uses federal summer youth employment funds, but goes beyond the traditional summer jobs approach to also provide remedial education and life skills and work experience to poor and underachieving youths during the summer months. Early results from STEP show that the program raises participants' reading and math skills by the end of the summer between one-half and three-quarters of a grade higher than those of nonparticipating peers.
- Ventures in Community Improvement (VICI): Launched as part of the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) during the late 1970s, the now-defunct VICI program operated in eight cities, offering disadvantaged, out-of-school teenagers skills training and work experience in the building trades. Evaluations found that VICI raised the young participants' post-program earnings by an average of nearly $1,300 annually (in 1980 dollars) and benefited the community through participants' work on emergency repairs to low-income homes and rehabilitation of public housing units.
- Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects (YIEPP): As another part of the YEDPA demonstration efforts, disadvantaged youths in seventeen sites were guaranteed minimum-wage jobs (part time during the school year and full time during the summer months) on the condition that they remain in or return to school. YIEPP nearly doubled employment rates among black teenagers, and also yielded substantial increases in participants' earnings during the period immediately following their completion of the program.

Despite these indications of success, the federal government never has come close to investing enough funds in youth employment and training initiatives to meet the needs of disadvantaged teenagers. On the contrary, a combination of meager resources and repeated policy shifts has stymied the development of an effective system for promoting and supporting successful interventions.

Even the modest efforts our nation has made have proceeded fitfully. Only two federal programs—Job Corps and the Summer Youth Employment Program—have remained intact since the 1960s and managed to establish a stable base from which to develop. But Job Corps has the capacity to serve only about 3 percent of the 1.3 million teenagers officially counted as unemployed at the end of 1987. The Summer Youth Employment Program serves a much larger number of low-income teenagers in more limited ways, offering work experience and (in some cases) remedial education for up to ten weeks during the summer months. However, the summer program now reaches 300,000 fewer teens than it did in 1981, and its remediation component remains too weak to stem the learning losses that most disadvantaged youths suffer while out of school during the summer months.

Many other programs have been launched and then quickly modified or discarded, while systematic, national efforts to build a base of knowledge and appropriate services in the youth employment field have languished. A wide range of skills training, work experience, and return-to-school initiatives were tested as part of the five-year, $2 billion YEDPA experiments mounted in the late 1970s. Unfortunately, budget cuts and the negative image of other federal job creation efforts brought this program to an abrupt end in 1981, before its valuable lessons could be fully documented or utilized.

Overall, federal spending on employment and training efforts for adults and youths (adjusted for inflation) has been slashed by more than 70 percent during the Reagan years. While substantial funds are still available for youth programs under JTPA, the total falls far short of what is needed. Further, JTPA's excessive emphasis on immediate job placements discourages longer term, more intensive investments on behalf of disadvantaged youths, skewing the program toward those better-off young people who can enter the job market immediately with minimal assistance.

There is no substitute for a strong federal role in youth employment and training. While states have begun to accept some responsibilities in this area, only a handful have made sizable investments thus far. Others, with severe youth employment problems, find it difficult to afford needed programs because of high levels of joblessness and narrow tax bases. Private employers generally are unable or unwilling to tackle by themselves the multiple barriers to employment that confront many poor and minority youths.

Through well-designed training efforts, as well as through its handling of the economy, the federal government is in the best position to expand opportunities for training and work and thereby reduce joblessness among our youths.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

Despite compelling evidence that many poor and minority youths are not getting the help they need to secure stable employment at a decent wage, the Reagan Administration's budget proposals for FY 1989 continue to ignore their pressing needs. While the Administration finally has abandoned attempts, after repeated defeats in Congress, to reduce substantially the federal government's modest investments in employment and training opportunities for disadvantaged teenagers, this budget does nothing to address the shortfall in existing federal efforts.

In general, the Administration proposes to maintain funding for federal employment and training programs at or slightly below FY 1988 levels.

Federal support for both the JTPA state block grant (Title II-A) and the Summer Youth Employment Program would be frozen at FY 1988 levels. Since there would be no adjustment for inflation, the total number of disadvantaged youths and adults served under these programs would fall roughly 2 percent.

Federal support for Job Corps would be reduced slightly, to $711 million in FY 1989, $5.5 million below FY 1988 funding levels. The Administration previously sought to abolish Job Corps, claiming that the program is too expensive, although Job Corps' benefits to society significantly exceed its costs. This year's proposal for only a small funding reduction tacitly acknowledges the bipartisan support the program now enjoys in Congress. The Administration's suggestion that the cut (and the failure to increase funds for inflation) can be effected through improved efficiency rather than reduction in services or numbers of youths benefiting is, however, highly suspect.

The Administration fails to propose any steps that would enable the federal government to reap greater benefits from Job Corps by improving its quality or expanding its cost-effective services to more youths in need of this assistance. While the Administration intends to seek a sorely needed increase in Job Corps staff salaries to reduce turnover among trained instructors, the proposal also does not address the large backlog of capital improvement and repair needs that plague many Job Corps centers after years of neglect.

The Administration's proposed budget calls again for a dilution of the Summer Youth Employment Program by giving local communities the option of diverting funds from summer jobs programs to finance education or training services to disadvantaged youths throughout the year. Because this reform proposal includes no new funding to support such education and training efforts, it would allow communities to pursue the laudatory goal of bolstering summer remediation efforts only at the expense of cutting traditional summer jobs, ignoring the importance of both the wages and the work experience they provide.

In addition, the Administration's approach may shift attention away from efforts to build effective and focused remedial education and work experience programs during the summer months, encouraging local officials to divert federal funds away from these essential activities in favor of less focused, year-round programs. At a time when research findings increasingly point to the summer months as a crucial learning period for poor and minority youths, such a dilution would be inappropriate.

CDF Recommendations

America has no broadly available employment and training system for young people. Unlike many Western European nations, the United States offers little or no help for youths entering the world of work and does not invest in federal, state, or locally based institutions that could provide that urgently needed help. For example, in West Germany nearly every young person leaving secondary school enrolls in a university or enters a formal apprenticeship program to prepare for a trade or career. In the United States, we do make an important and substantial investment in higher education, providing roughly $9 billion in direct and indirect federal help (along with substantial state support) for young people who enroll in colleges or universities. But teenagers who move directly from high school into the labor market receive no comparable support, leaving many to founder needlessly for several years.

Until the federal government provides the leadership necessary to construct a youth employment system, this nation cannot hope to tackle the persistent problems of joblessness, underemployment, and low wages that now plague many young people, threatening the very survival of those with the fewest social and economic advantages. Such a system must include strong remedial education services, training opportunities for non-college-bound youths, and paid employment for teenagers and young adults where jobs are otherwise unavailable through the private sector. To continually increase its effectiveness, a youth employment system must also provide mechanisms for expanding our knowledge of "what works" and enabling local communities to replicate and build upon these successes.

A series of strategic investments by the federal government over the next several years could substantially bolster the success of existing youth employment efforts and provide a framework for more comprehensive assistance to young people who face the bleakest employment prospects. The federal government should invest now in the following efforts:

- *Community learning centers:* Basic academic skills provide a key to future employment prospects. Yet few youth employment programs have the capacity to provide effective remedial education services to disadvantaged teenagers and young adults who have left school. A revolving loan fund established by the federal government and administered by states would help local agencies finance initial investments in basic skills curricula, cost-effective microcomputers, and other learning materials. An initial appropriation of $75 million in FY 1989 for loans to existing programs and operating grants to new learning centers would begin to bolster this essential component of a sound youth employment system.
- *School-to-work transition:* Many students leaving high school now do not receive even the most minimal assistance (such as job search and placement help) that they need in making the transition to work. A FY 1989 appropriation of $50 million in matching federal funds for states willing to invest in effective, low-cost school-to-work transition programs like Jobs for America's Graduates would help ensure that disadvantaged youths obtain this basic assistance.
- *Summer Youth Employment Program:* This program's benefits could be greatly enhanced by supplementing the existing work experience component with remedial education for all participants whose basic academic skills are below grade level. A FY 1989 appropriation of $950 million would provide a $200 million increase to be used for incentive grants to communities that offer these enriched summer programs.
- *Job Corps:* With a boost of nearly $200 million, to a total FY 1989 appropriation of $900 million, more than 25,000 additional disadvantaged young people would be served in new or existing Job Corps centers. Increased funding also would allow this program's cost-effective approach to be replicated in nonresidential sites, thereby reaching young people who are reluctant to leave their own communities.
- *Replication of model programs:* Local service providers need better information and practical advice if they are to adopt successful approaches to youth employment and training. A national panel of experts should be established to review and certify promising models, with a $20 million appropriation in FY 1989 to support dissemination, technical assistance, and ongoing research.
- *Apprenticeships and vocational training:* We can reinforce motivation of young people and help bolster the supply of trained workers for emerging industries by offering non-college-bound youths either "career ladder" jobs or vocational training. To that end, as we look toward the twenty-first century, a federally authorized study group should be established to develop a plan for integrating existing apprenticeship programs, along with a wide range of community college programs and training institutions, into a more comprehensive apprenticeship system.
- *Work and service opportunities:* Supervised work experience or community service activities help put young people to work and help the community. The federal government should provide $100 million in FY 1989 to stimulate the expansion of current state and local efforts and thereby test on a larger scale promising models for training teenagers as part of housing rehabilitation, conservation, and human service projects.

- *Minimum wage:* The current rate of $3.35 per hour has fallen well below the standards of both historical precedent and common decency. An immediate increase in the federal minimum wage is necessary to provide a stable earnings base for young workers and their families. The minimum wage should be raised to $3.85 in 1988, with stepped increases in subsequent years to restore the minimum wage to its real 1979 value, as adjusted for inflation.

Employment: Funding and Budget Requests, FY 1981-FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	CETA	CETA Summer Youth[1]	CETA Public Service Employment[1]	JTPA	JTPA Basic Block Grant to States[2]	JTPA Summer Youth[2]	Job Corps[2]	WIN
FY 1981 actual	$7,143.0	$900.0	$2,195.0	—	—	—	—	$365.0
FY 1982 proposed	3,567.0	—	0.0	—	—	—	—	—
FY 1982 actual	3,023.2	720.6	100.0	—	—	—	—	268.6
FY 1983 proposed	0.0	—	—	$2,387.0	—	$724.5	—	11.4
FY 1983 actual	3,789.3	—	—	3,990.4[3]	—	824.5[3]	$621.7	270.8
FY 1984 proposed	—	—	—	3,643.3	—	724.5	585.6	0.0
FY 1984 actual	—	—	—	3,605.2	$1,886.2	724.5	599.2	270.8
FY 1985 proposed	—	—	—	3,610.6	1,886.2	637.5	600.0	0.0
FY 1985 actual	—	—	—	3,748.7	1,886.2	824.5[3]	617.0	266.8
FY 1986 proposed	—	—	—	2,805.5	1,886.2	664.5	0.0	0.0
FY 1986 actual	—	—	—	3,461.0	1,863.2	664.5	640.0	220.0
After Gramm-Rudman	—	—	—	3,312.3	1,783.1	636.0	612.5	210.5
FY 1987 proposed	—	—	—	2,909.6	1,820.0	428.0	351.7	0.0
FY 1987 actual	—	—	—	3,656.0	1,840.0	750.0	656.4	126.0
FY 1988 proposed	—	—	—	3,285.5	1,783.0	650.0	651.7	0.0
FY 1988 actual	—	—	—	3,757.3	1,809.5	718.1	716.1	92.6
FY 1989 proposed	—	—	—	3,430.8	1,809.5	718.1	710.6	0.0

[1] Included in CETA totals.

[2] Included in JTPA totals.

[3] Includes supplemental appropriation.

PREVENTING ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY AND BUILDING YOUTH SELF-SUFFICIENCY

All across America, in rural as well as urban areas and among all racial groups, too many of our youths stumble and fall under the burden of early, unintended pregnancy and parenthood. Approximately 1.1 million teens became pregnant in 1985. There were 478,000 births to teens in 1985, most of them the result of unintended pregnancies. Among them were 178,000 births to teens seventeen and younger and 10,000 births to girls fourteen and younger. Each day, 488 babies are born to women younger than eighteen, the vast majority of whom would be better off if they were at high school instead of in a maternity ward.

There always have been teenage mothers and fathers. In purely numerical terms, this problem has been diminishing. Both the number of births to teens and the teen birth rate (births per 1,000 teenage women) decreased sharply from 1970 to 1985, with the number of births to teens dipping below 500,000 in 1983 for the first time since 1955. Birth rates have dropped from sixty-eight births per 1,000 in 1970 to fifty-one births per 1,000 in 1985. Birth rates have declined among all age groups of teenage girls except very young teens (younger than fifteen), among whom rates have remained essentially the same.

Because of three important new factors, however, the economic and social costs of teen parenthood to the teens and their children, as well as to the larger society, are far higher today than they were a couple of decades ago.

First, teenage parents—both mothers and fathers—always have dropped out of secondary school at high rates. Over the past fifteen years, however, this tendency has become more costly, because a high school diploma has become a prerequisite of minimal economic survival, and further education a virtual prerequisite of economic security. Teen parents' truncated education means they are less and less likely to be able to support themselves and their families.

Second, over the past fifteen years social and economic changes in our society have made it much harder for families that do not have two working parents to survive economically. Two incomes have become even more crucial for young families with children because there has been a drastic decline in the earnings of young men, especially young men without high school diplomas—those most likely to be young fathers. But teen parents are less likely than other parents to be raising their children in two-parent, two-income families. Young mothers are much less likely to be married now than in earlier years, and many cannot or do not get child support help, which means they are less likely to have access to another income—however inadequate—to support a child.

Finally, society pays a higher price today when young people fail to become productive workers in adulthood. The aging of the American population has changed the age composition of the labor force—making our society increasingly reliant upon each new young worker to help maintain our economic status. However, many of our young workers are receiving inadequate educations and, unless they receive extra help, are unlikely to be fully effective contributors to the society. One out of three of our country's potential young workers in the 1990s is from a minority group—but minority teens have the highest school dropout and teen birth rates.

Completing the Steps Toward Adulthood: Timing Is Everything

Leaving school and becoming a parent are important and expected milestones of adulthood, but they are steps best taken in a well-established sequence. We expect teens to finish their schooling, settle into jobs, and marry before they begin raising families. Of course, it never has been the case that all youths have completed all of these steps and completed them in the prescribed order—there always have been and always will be hasty school exits, job searches, and marriage plans as a result of unintended pregnancies. But never before has unintended pregnancy and parenthood meant so many academic years lost, so few jobs found at adequate wages, or so few marriages actually started and maintained.

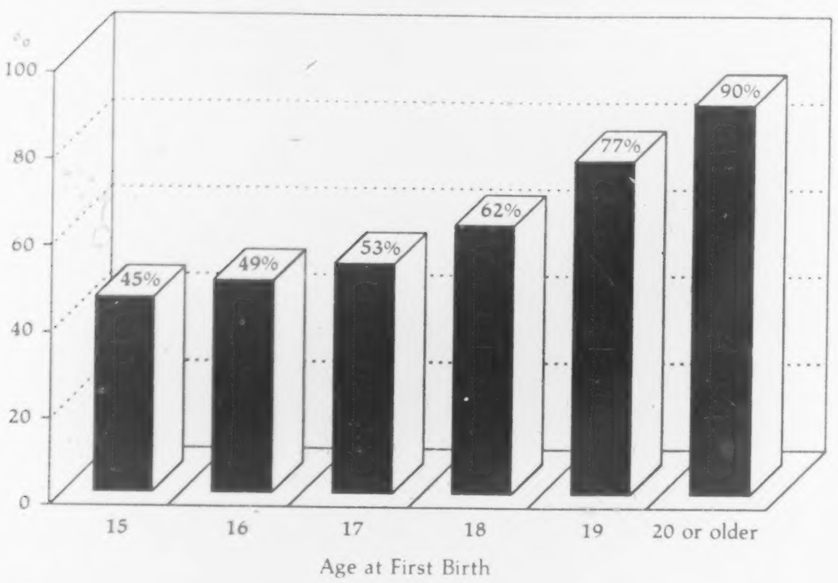
Truncated Education

Today's pregnant girls, as well as teen parents (both male and female), often choose to leave school before graduation, as they always have. Among students enrolled in school in their sophomore year, half of the young women who become mothers and almost one-third of the young men who become fathers drop out of school. Marriage, the traditional solution to unintended pregnancies, is linked to a greater likelihood that the teen parents will leave school: among those who are married, six out of ten of the teen mothers and more than seven out of ten of the teen fathers drop out of school.

Some students later return to school or get their equivalency diplomas (GEDs), but data suggest that many of those who leave school because of early parenthood leave for good, and that the earlier they become parents, the less likely it is that they will ever finish high school.

While teen mothers are actually somewhat more likely to stay in school than they were twenty years ago, their graduation rate is falling further behind that of teens who have not become parents, and the latter now go on to college in record numbers. In 1960 only six of ten young adults had graduated from high school, and 45 percent of them went on to college. By 1986, 83 percent of young adults were high school graduates and more than half of those with diplomas (54 percent) went on to enroll in college. The teen parent who drops out of high school in the junior year today is not just one year short of the average education achieved by his or her peers, but as many as three or more years behind. And in today's labor market those lost years are costly.

High School Completion Rates by Age at First Birth for Women Ages 20-26 in 1983



Eroding Earnings

To compete for decent jobs today, young people must meet increasingly tough educational standards that demand solid basic reading and math skills and at least a high school diploma. Manufacturing jobs that pay adequate wages but require modest education have declined as a proportion of jobs in the economy. As a result, less educated young adults have lost an important route to obtaining self-sufficiency and faced declining wages. In 1960 a high school dropout could expect to earn almost 90 percent of what a high school graduate earned. By 1986 the dropout's earning power had eroded substantially: high school dropouts made only 70 cents for every $1.00 earned by those with diplomas. The gap between dropouts and college graduates has grown especially large. In 1973 young male college graduates earned 25 percent more than high school dropouts; by 1984 their average earnings were nearly twice those of dropouts.

Their earnings decline has meant that dropouts cannot support families. In 1973 more than two-thirds of all male dropouts ages twenty through twenty-four earned enough to support a family of three above the poverty line; by 1985 fewer than one-third earned enough to lift them over this line. (See Youth Employment chapter.)

Single Parenthood

Because of the erosion in the wages of young workers, particularly young men, two incomes now often are essential to keep a family with children above the poverty level. But marriage rates among teens in general and among pregnant teens and teen mothers in particular have been declining in recent years.

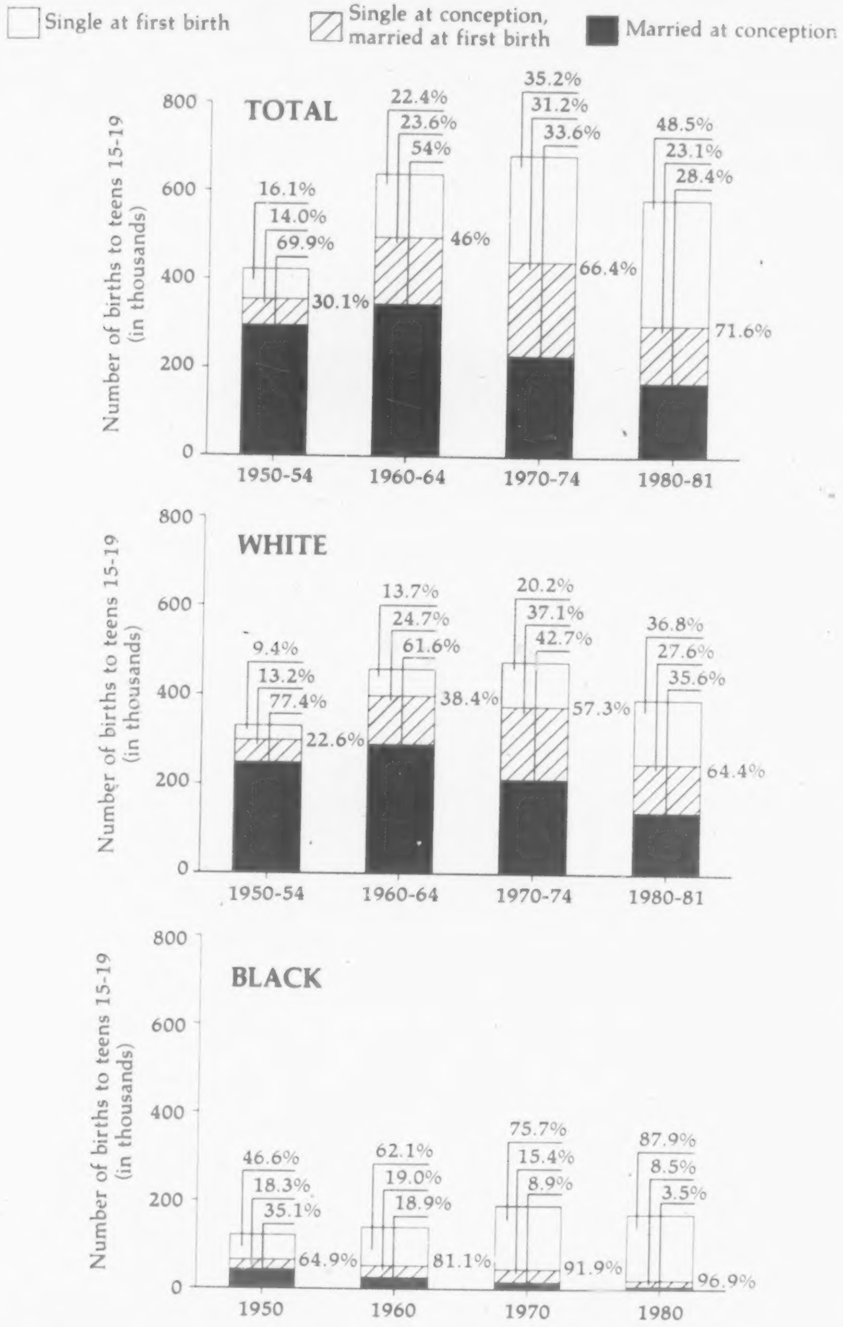
Children of Very Young Parents: Many Grow Up Poor

The children in families headed by very young parents face a high risk of poverty. More than eight of ten children living in young (headed by individuals twenty-one or younger) female-headed families were poor in 1986—a rate that is unconscionable but no longer surprising, given the well-known difficulty of keeping a single-parent family financially afloat. One-third of the children living in male-headed and two-parent young families are poor. In 1986, 531,000 children younger than three were living in families headed by parents twenty-one or younger. Two-thirds of these children—352,000—were living in poverty.

- Teen marriages in general have dropped off sharply. In 1970, 12 percent of fifteen- to nineteen-year-old girls and 4 percent of fifteen- to nineteen-year-old boys had married. By 1980 these percentages had dropped to 9 percent and less than 3 percent, respectively. In 1984 they were down further—6.6 percent and 1.5 percent. Only one teenage girl in fifteen and one teenage boy in sixty-seven had married in 1984.
- Babies conceived premaritally, as a proportion of all teen births, are up among adolescent women. Among teen women giving birth in the early 1960s, 46 percent gave birth to babies who were conceived out of wedlock. By the early 1970s, this proportion was up to 66 percent. Among teens who gave birth in 1980 and 1981, seven out of ten conceived when they were single.
- Marriages designed to legitimize out-of-wedlock pregnancies are down. In the early 1960s, slightly more than half of the teen women who became pregnant before marriage and decided to continue the pregnancy married before the birth of the children. As of the early 1970s, this proportion was down only slightly—to 47 percent. A sharp change in decision-making occurred, however, beginning in the early 1970s and paralleling other shifts in decision-making about premarital sexual activity and childbearing. Only one-third of women who gave birth to premaritally conceived babies in 1980 and 1981 married before the birth.
- The rate of births to unmarried women is rising steadily. Although overall teen birth rates are down, three interrelated key numbers and rates for unmarried teens are up: the number of births to unmarried teens; the number of births per 1,000 unmarried teens; and the proportion of all teen births that are to unmarried teens (the out-of-wedlock ratio). Each increased during the 1970s and continues to grow in the 1980s, showing no sign of slowing down. The out-of-wedlock ratio is increasing especially rapidly, because birth rates to all teens have been basically stable since the mid-1970s while birth rates to unmarried women have continued to rise.

A significant contributor to these disturbing trends is the growing difficulty that young, less-educated adult Americans are having in earning adequate incomes. Throughout American history, many teenagers and young

Percentage of First-Born Babies Conceived Out of Wedlock by Year of Baby's Birth and Mother's Marital Status

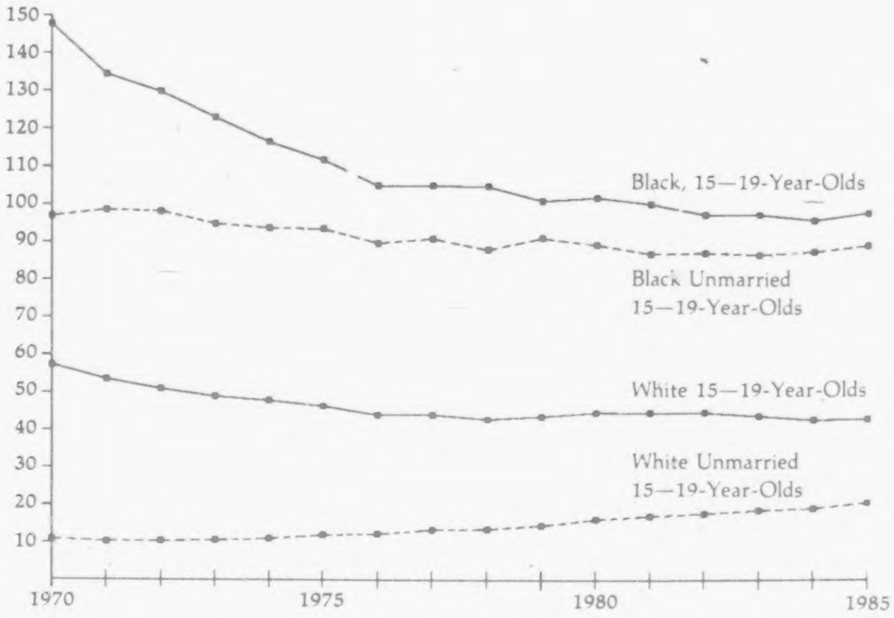


Source: M. O'Connell and C. Rogers, "Out of Wedlock Births, Premarital Pregnancies and Their Effect on Family Formation and Dissolutions," *Family Planning Perspectives* 16 (1984).

adults—white and black—have engaged in sex before marriage and conceived babies out of wedlock. In the past such young parents usually married before the birth of the baby, because of community pressure and because it made economic sense. When families can be supported easily, more persons marry, and earlier in life. Ben Franklin's observation on marriage more than two centuries ago still holds true: "The number of marriages . . . is greater in proportion to the ease and convenience of supporting a family." Regardless of race or educational attainment level, young men ages twenty to twenty-four with earnings above the poverty threshold for a family of three are three to four times more likely to be married than young men with below-poverty earnings. Today, significantly more frequently than fifteen or twenty years ago, it does not make economic sense from the young mother's viewpoint to become married (or to stay married) to the father. He is more likely than his counterpart of the early 1970s to be unemployed, sporadically employed, or have dim future prospects. Changes in the economy have widened the group of young men with diminished prospects (to include not only dropouts but many high school graduates who do not go on to college) and have reduced young men's wages to the point that only 42 percent of twenty- to twenty-four-year-olds in 1984 could support a family of three above the poverty line.

Birth Rates to 15- to 19-Year-Old Women By Race and Marital Status, 1970-1985

(Births per 1,000 15—19-Year-Old Women in Specified Group)



The Connections Between Poverty, Poor Basic Academic Skills, and Early Parenthood

While teen pregnancy and parenthood are problems that afflict all Americans, regardless of economic background (six of ten babies born to teens are born into families living above the poverty level), it is clear that poverty greatly increases a teen's risk of becoming a parent too soon. Poor teens are two and a half times more likely to become parents than are non-poor teens. Because of the higher rates of poverty suffered by minority groups, minority teens also have higher rates of teen pregnancy and parenthood. They account for only 27 percent of the adolescent population but about 40 percent of teen births.

The roots of this higher rate of early parenthood lie in the disadvantages poor children face throughout childhood. They are more likely to suffer deficits in key elements that every child needs on the road to self-sufficiency: education, health, work preparation, the building of social responsibility and awareness, and personal growth. Poor children, for example, are three times more likely than non-poor children to lack full-year health insurance coverage. Health professionals working with low-income children estimate that as many as 80 percent are suffering from one or more untreated medical conditions. Poor nutrition and health during infancy and early childhood can have a negative impact for cognitive development and increase the likelihood of learning disabilities. Throughout childhood and adolescence, poor health, including untreated visual, hearing, dental, and mental health problems, can contribute to decreased learning and school attendance.

Low-income children usually reside in less affluent communities that have fewer resources to invest in public schools. In school they often are channeled out of academic tracks and into general, vocational, or special education programs, frequently regardless of their potential. Outside of school their communities seldom offer programs and facilities that challenge their minds and bodies.

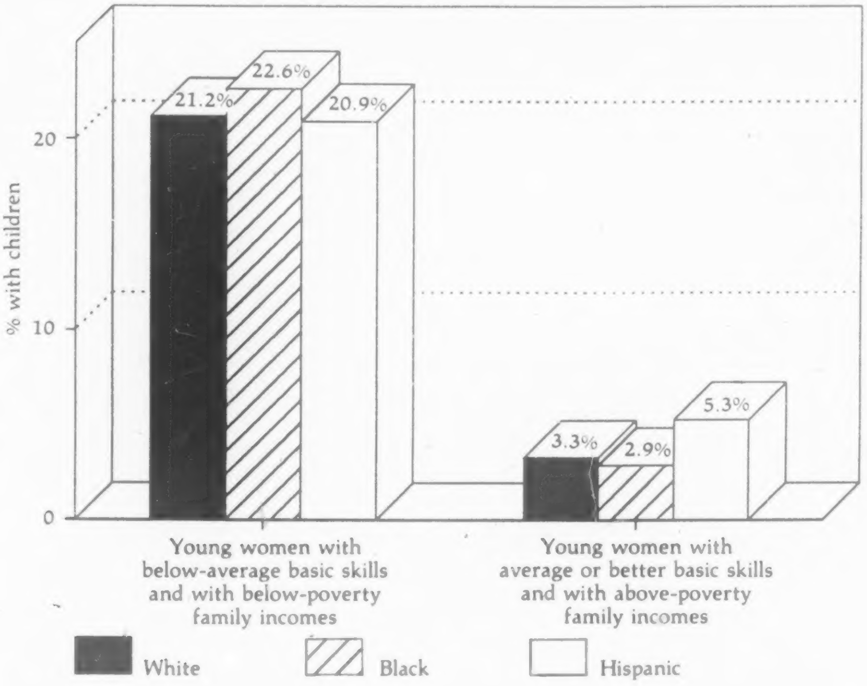
Poverty, discrimination, and poor basic skills combine to produce a group of adolescents and young adults who have little opportunity to keep up with their peers and don't believe that playing by society's rules will increase their chances of becoming full participants in the benefits of that society. Effectively shut off from hopes of even modest success, these youths see little to gain by staying in school, delaying parenthood, or marrying once childbearing has begun. Together, their limited skills and limited opportunities disrupt their progress toward self-sufficiency.

- More than half of the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds surveyed from families with incomes below the federal poverty line have basic reading and math skills that place them in the bottom 20 percent of all teens. Poor teens are four times as likely to have poor basic skills as are teens with family incomes above poverty.
- Among teens living in poverty, more than four out of ten white teens, more than half of Hispanic teens, and more than six out of ten black teens fall in the bottom skills group.
- Regardless of race, poor teens are about three times more likely to drop out of school than are non-poor teens. But among teens living in poverty, black teens are as likely to drop out as whites. In 1986, 30 percent of poor white teens and 33 percent of poor black teens did not complete high school.

While black and Hispanic pregnancy rates are substantially higher than the rate for whites, the differences virtually disappear when differences in income and skills levels are factored out. In other words, the data suggest that reducing minority family poverty and raising minorities' basic academic skills could play a significant role in reducing adolescent pregnancy rates—as well as having a major impact on the quality of these teens' lives.

- Young men and women—whether black, white, or Hispanic—with poor basic academic skills are more than three times as likely to be parents as are those with average or better basic skills.
- Regardless of race, one in five young women with below-average skills and from a family with a below-poverty income becomes a parent while a teenager. These doubly disadvantaged teens are five and a half times more likely to be teen parents than those with solid academic skills coming from non-poor families.

Percentage of 16- to 19-Year-Old Women With Children, 1981, by Race/Ethnicity, Poverty, and Basic Skills Level



Source: Unpublished analyses of the National Longitudinal Survey, courtesy of Andrew Sum, Northeastern University.

A Two-Pronged Approach to Preventing Teenage Pregnancy

To avoid falling into the trap of teen parenthood, teens need two important forms of help. The first is information, counseling, and services to avoid pregnancy. The second is skills, self-esteem, experiences, and opportunities that give teens enough hope for their future to provide a solid reason to delay parenthood. Neither approach will work without the other.

Teens Need Increased Capacity To Prevent Pregnancy

The reality today is that more than half of all teenage boys and girls between the ages of fifteen and nineteen are sexually active. For these teens to avoid pregnancy and parenthood, they need timely, accurate information on sexuality, as well as guidance and services. The United States, however, has done relatively little to teach them about pregnancy prevention. This enforced ignorance has not stopped teens' sexual activity, but it is responsible for many teen pregnancies and births.

All American teens need better and more timely access to sexuality-related information (including counseling concerning the option of postponing sexual activity), and services that give them the capacity to delay pregnancy once they become sexually active.

Teens Need Compelling Reasons To Prevent Pregnancy

Teens need reasons to believe that delaying pregnancy and parenthood is in their best interests. Convincing teens of this is not easy. Pregnancy and parenthood (unlike most other commonly discussed youth problems such as substance abuse or suicide) are desirable behaviors our society generally honors—but at a later age. Teens often want to push ahead to adopt what they see as adult behavior. Our society's task is not merely to persuade teens to wait, but to provide every teen—including every poor teen—with other positive and rewarding options so that he or she can personally see the benefits of waiting.

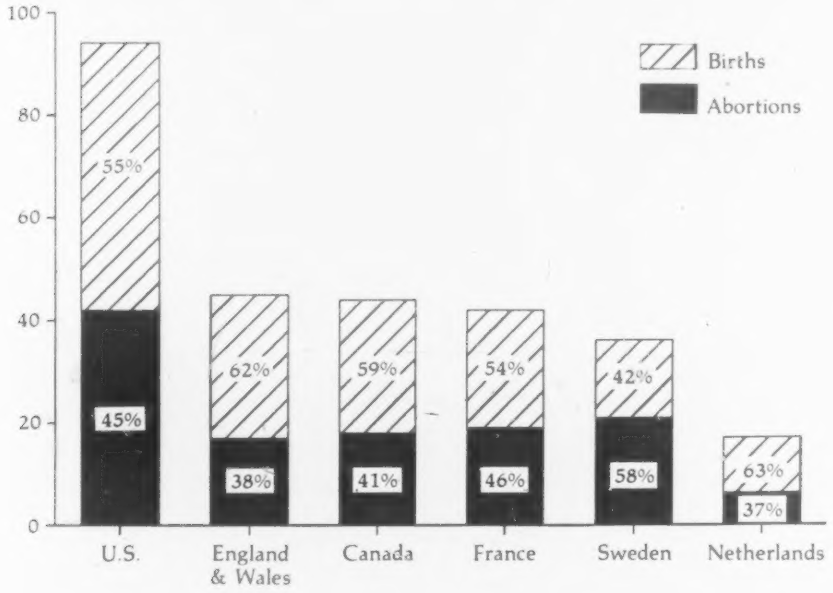
Research reviewed by the National Academy of Sciences in its 1987 report, *Risking the Future,* strongly suggests that teens' decisions about sexual activity and use of contraception are tied closely to their feelings of self-esteem, their aspirations, and their perceptions of opportunities available to them. Teens with strong achievement orientations and with clear goals for the future are less likely to become sexually active at early ages and more likely, if sexually active, to be regular and effective contraceptive users. In contrast, teens facing limited life options—poor teens and teens with low basic academic skills—are most at risk of early parenthood.

Our foot-dragging on the issue of building either teens' capacity or motivation to avoid pregnancy is extremely costly: a recent study conducted by the Alan Guttmacher Institute found that while American teens are about as likely to be sexually active as teens in similarly developed countries, they are twice as likely as teens in France, England, Wales, and Canada to experience pregnancy during adolescence.

Effective teen pregnancy prevention efforts must offer different forms of help to different groups of young people.

For teens for whom the basic supports are there—the educational, occupational, and family experiences and expectations that give them the compelling reasons to want to delay parenthood—we need to reinforce those supports and offer earlier and more comprehensive sexuality education and better access to contraceptive counseling and services for those who are already sexually active.

Pregnancy Rates and Percentages of Births and Abortions, Selected Countries, 1980-1981
Pregnancy Rate (per 1,000 15- to 19-Year-Old Females)



Note: Pregnancy rates do not include estimates of miscarriages.

For teens for whom the basic supports are weak, however, we need to offer far more than just the sexuality-specific components. We must simultaneously strengthen their academic skills, broaden their experiences, and increase their opportunities through education, employment exposure and experience, recreation, health care, and family supports.

The complexity of the pregnancy prevention challenge is conveyed succinctly in the words of a fifteen-year-old junior high school student in Detroit who wrote that her goal is: "To go to school and fenisch my schooling whithout getting prenant."

We must help her and every fifteen-year-old American child achieve this goal. Helping her and young people like her to acquire the education, the self-esteem, and the motivation to delay pregnancy and parenthood is essential to protect their future well-being and that of our nation.

CHILD CARE

On October 12, 1987, every working parent's nightmare became a reality for Sandra James of Reston, Virginia. Because she and her husband needed two jobs to support their family, she was working part time as a housekeeper at a local hotel. Affordable child care for her children was impossible to find: in her community an estimated 5,000 young children were competing for 453 available day care slots. With no better child care option available, Mrs. James left Jermaine, her six-year-old son, and his six-year-old friend Amanda Crossin in the care of her eight-year-old daughter, Tina. When a fire broke out in their apartment, Tina ran for help, inadvertently locking the two younger children in an apartment engulfed in flames. Before firefighters could rescue them, Jermaine and Amanda died—two more young casualties of America's growing child care crisis.

America's children are vulnerable because our nation has failed to come to grips with today's realities for families. Most mothers of young children have joined the labor force, a massive demographic shift that has made decent child care a necessity for families from every income group. But our current patchwork child care system cannot meet the growing demand, forcing many of those families—and especially low- and moderate-income families—to leave their children in inadequate and sometimes dangerous child care situations. Too few children are in good child care situations. Too many are left alone, with slightly older siblings, or in overcrowded, unsafe, or unstimulating substitute care.

The number of children with working parents will continue its rapid rise. By 1995 two-thirds of all preschool children and four out of five school-age children will have mothers in the work force. If our nation does not act now, a growing child care shortage will lead to ever more impossible choices for more parents and increasingly inadequate care for more young children.

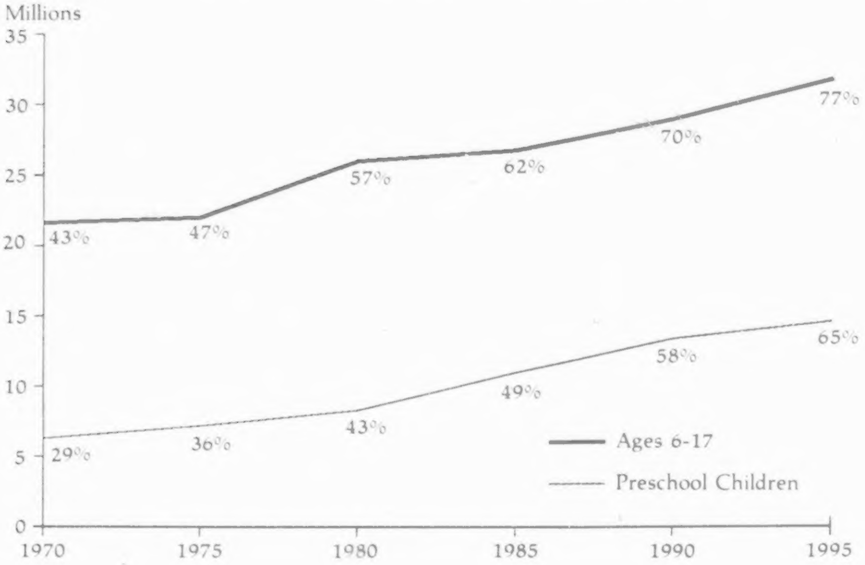
Child Care: An Urgent Need for All Families

Children need good child care to be safe, healthy, and on a sound developmental track. In good child care, preschoolers can get the foundation they need to build toward success in school. School-age children benefit from child care programs that offer key developmental opportunities for social interaction, recreation, skills-building, and extra tutoring when they need it.

Child development experts agree on the key contributors to quality child care: small group size and adequate adult supervision; continuity of care; a staff that has received specialized training in child development and early education; cooperation between caregivers and parents; and activities geared to a child's age that encourage optimal physical and mental as well as emotional development.

Parents need child care to enable them to work, pay the bills, and be more productive on the job. Women with children today work largely because their families need the money. A 1983 New York Times poll reported that "for 71 percent of mothers who work the primary reason was not for something interesting to do but to support their families."

Children With Mothers in the Labor Force



For many two-parent families today, the second income is all that stands between them and poverty. In 1987 the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families found that 35 percent more two-parent families would live below the poverty line if the wives in them were not employed.

Working families also need decent child care to assure parents' job security and meet the needs of employers:

- In 1986 *Fortune* magazine studied 400 working parents with children younger than twelve and concluded that dissatisfaction with child care was the most reliable predictor of the workers' absenteeism and unproductive work time.

- A 1987 Census Bureau study reported that one in twenty working parents was absent from the job in the month prior to the study because of child care problems.
- Three in ten parents surveyed by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in 1987 felt the child care they could afford was not of high quality. Twenty-eight percent of those with children twelve or younger had given up a job or a promotion because of lack of child care.

Child Care: One Key to Self-Sufficiency for Members of Low-Income Families

Child care that incorporates the elements of high quality preschool and early childhood development programs is especially effective in giving children from low-income families the foundation they need to learn basic academic skills and eventually lead better lives.

Every child has a valuable contribution to make to our nation's future. As the population of the country ages, the percentage of Americans who are children and young adults is shrinking. This decline will result in a smaller proportion of Americans who will be entering the work force. Our country will depend more heavily on the skills of every young worker. In 1978 sixteen- to twenty-four-year-olds made up 27 percent of the total working-age population; by 2005, that figure will fall to 20 percent.

But of today's three- to five-year-olds, who will be entering the labor force around the year 2005:

- One in four is poor.
- One in three is nonwhite, and, of these, 40 percent are poor.
- One in seven is at risk of dropping out of school.

Business and government leaders have begun to recognize that early childhood development programs that get children off to a good start can be a sound and cost-effective way to help low-income youngsters overcome early disadvantages.

- The Research and Policy Committee of the business-led Committee for Economic Development firmly supports a public investment in such programs for low-income children, and finds that the benefits far outweigh the costs.
- In a recent article, *Fortune* magazine strongly supported including comprehensive early childhood development programs, such as Head Start, in the child care component of any welfare alternative (or "workfare") programs.

A positive early childhood development experience helps low-income children begin school on more equal footing with their advantaged peers and improves their ability to gain the basic skills necessary to their future success. The ability to read and compute is a key factor in determining whether young people will succeed in school and beyond. More than three-quarters of all poor youths are below average in these basic skills. Children who by age eighteen have the weakest basic skills (in the lowest fifth among their peers) are eight times more likely to have children out of wedlock and five times more likely to drop out of school and be jobless than those with above-average basic skills.

Child care is also essential to poor parents' efforts to work and to lift their families out of poverty.

Studies show that child care helps lower income parents to keep working and to earn more.

- Research by economists David Blau and Phillip K. Robbins at the University of Miami in 1987 on the links between child care and economic self-sufficiency among low-income families living in public housing revealed that a 50 percent increase in the size of an on-site child care center would result in a 13.5 percent rise in hours worked by residents and a 19.5 percent increase in their earnings.
- According to administrators of an ongoing work demonstration project sponsored by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor and the Rockefeller Foundation, affordable, quality child care services are the major unmet need of single mothers who are seeking employment.
- The experience of Elaine Harris of Fairfax, Virginia, a single mother of two preschool children, is typical. Harris wanted to be independent of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and located work several times. But she was forced to quit each in a series of jobs because she could not afford to pay for child care out of her own pocket, and could get no child care assistance from her state or county unless she was receiving AFDC. After Virginia passed a new child care program targeted on low-income working families, however, she was able to receive help in meeting child care costs. She has kept a job longer than she was ever able to in the past, enabling her to pay a portion of her child care costs and to work toward her GED.

Child care is crucial to enable poor families to move from dependence on welfare to self-sufficiency through education and training programs leading to employment. Data from across the nation have convinced a broad range of policymakers that the ability of low-income parents to participate in education and training programs and to work hinges on the availability of child care. More than 200,000 non-working mothers of young children turn down job offers each month because child care cannot be found or afforded. In 1987 the U.S. General Accounting Office reported that about 60 percent of those enrolled in AFDC work and training programs said lack of child care had prevented their full participation. States, on average, spend very little on child care for this group: such expenditures amounted to only 6.4 percent of the median AFDC work program budget.

Because it helps families leave the welfare rolls, an investment in child care is cost-effective. Providing child care assistance to low-income working families so they can be self-sufficient costs only 38 percent of what it costs to provide AFDC and Medicaid benefits, according to the Colorado Department of Social Services. In Massachusetts almost half of the adult participants in a child care program designed to help low-income women leave welfare were able to do so.

The Search for Child Care: Families Face Barriers of Affordability, Availability, and Quality

While child care is now an essential service for a majority of America's families with children, finding affordable, available, quality child care is at best a daunting task and, in many instances, is impossible. First, parents must find the money to pay the costs of child care, which currently average $3,000 per year per child. Infant care costs even more, usually more than $100 a week per child. Parents must locate child care that meets their work schedules and is within a reasonable distance. And they must also search—often in vain—for a quality situation that can provide a safe, healthy, and stimulating environment for their children.

Affordability

Millions of American families cannot afford to pay for decent child care, whether their household has one income or two. A growing number of America's working parents are poor today despite their work effort, and cannot possibly shoulder their child care costs alone. In 1985, 2.7 million children, or more than one-fifth of all poor children, were poor even though they had a mother who worked full time. Of the almost 5.3 million children younger than six who live in poverty, more than one-third have working mothers.

Percentage of Income That Lower Income Parents Would Have To Pay for Child Care

Families	One Child In Child Care (Average Cost: $3,000/yr.)	Two Children In Child Care (Average Cost: $6,000/yr.)
One parent working full time at minimum wage ($6,700 annual income)	45 percent	90 percent
One parent working full time, earning poverty-level wages for a family of three ($9,418 annual income)	32 percent	64 percent
Two parents working full time at minimum wage ($13,400 annual income)	22 percent	45 percent
A single mother with at least one child under six, earning the median wage for the group ($6,500 annual income)	47 percent	92 percent
A couple aged 18 to 24 with the median earnings for their age group ($19,000 annual income)	16 percent	32 percent

Single-parent families—now struggling to raise one of every five American children—are even less likely to be able to afford child care. The median annual income for a single mother with at least one child younger than six was only $6,500 in 1985, less than the federally established poverty line for a family of two ($7,400 in 1987). The cost of child care for one child equals nearly half of that median wage.

Young two-parent families must also struggle to pay for child care. The median annual income of a married couple ages eighteen to twenty-four was only $19,000 in 1985.

Young parents beginning their working lives have the lowest wages of all Americans, and recently have seen their relative earnings sink significantly in comparison with those of other age groups. In 1986 median weekly earnings were $237 for all American men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four working full time, one-half the full-time wages of older male workers. Nineteen years earlier, wages for such young men were 74 percent of older workers' earnings. Full-time wages of young working women have dropped similarly as a proportion of older women's wages, from 94 percent in 1967 to 71 percent in 1986.

The declining wages of young workers (who often have preschool children) and the growing numbers of single-parent families and families in which both parents work at low wages mean that far more Americans now need help to afford child care.

Availability and Quality

Because of the dearth of affordable child care, too many parents today use a patchwork of child care resources and are forced to compromise on quality to find any child care at all.

Even if available, child care resources often do not accommodate the working schedules of parents. Women who work are, for the most part, employed in full-time jobs: 71 percent of working mothers with children younger than eighteen work full time, as do 66 percent with children younger than three. Yet child care arrangements rarely fit a full-day schedule. Many parents must patch together different child care arrangements, hoping that children can be moved smoothly from one caregiver to the next. A study of New York City care found that more than half of the families surveyed had to make multiple arrangements for child care, and about 20 percent of the parents used more than two caregivers during the day.

An increasing number of parents begin their search for child care when their children are infants. In 1987, 52 percent of mothers with children age one and younger were in the labor force. The rapidly escalating demand for infant care, coupled with its very high cost, makes the task of finding and paying for such care especially difficult. A September 1987 article in *Philadelphia* magazine describes the absurd scramble often necessary to get infant care:

> "This month, a four-month-old infant girl is starting at the Wooly Bear Day Care School in Lansdale, Pennsylvania. Her father first approached the center about her enrollment several months before she was conceived. 'I think it's great that they planned ahead,' says center director Bonnie Magargal. As of July 1987, Wooly was booked solid for infants until June 1988."

Even in the hospital industry, which has by far the largest number of work-site centers, the need for infant care slots far exceeds the supply. A survey of 129 hospitals conducted in the spring of 1987 found that such centers turned away two out of three babies whose parents applied. The centers were serving 12,336 children while 7,988 more were on waiting lists.

Compounding the problem caused by a dearth of infant care slots is the United States' failure, in contrast to virtually all other industrialized nations, to have any policy of protected parental leave for new mothers or fathers. Parents now must leave their infants almost immediately, or stay home and risk their jobs, unless they work for one of the minority of employers with decent parental leave policies. A national parental leave policy would guarantee job security when a parent returns to work after taking care of a newborn. A paid leave program could replace some lost wages as well.

Parents of preschool children also increasingly search for child care, facing long waiting lists. In Boston, Massachusetts, the community schools' preschool and after-school child care programs serve 1,000 youngsters, while 4,000 more wait to enroll. Although the program has tripled in size in the past five years, it still cannot keep up with the demand.

Finally, families of young school-age children face an acute shortage of programs that provide child care before and after school and during school vacations. The majority of young school-age children either take care of themselves or are cared for by older siblings for some portion of after-school hours, according to a Minneapolis area survey by the Center for Youth Development and Research at the University of Minnesota—the first of its kind to interview both parents and students. It is not just older elementary school children who are on their own, the survey found. Among the children in kindergarten through third grade, about half are left to care for themselves or are cared for by siblings.

Another study, conducted in 1987 by Louis Harris and Associates for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, quoted a majority of the more than 1,000 teachers interviewed as citing isolation and lack of supervision after school as the major reason children have difficulty in school.

Too many children of all ages end up on their own, supervised by siblings, or in low quality child care for a simple reason: their parents have no better choice available. One parent quoted in a recent study of working mothers by Caroline Zinsser for the Center for Public Advocacy Research describes parents' bind:

> "I found that most of the parents felt there was nothing they could do. And one parent even told me, 'Well, it's all depressing and this is the lesser of the evils.' It's like, 'Well, this is the best of a bad bunch, but what are you going to do? You have to go to work, and you have to have someone watch your children.' So they tolerated it."

Children cared for in informal child care arrangements with siblings, relatives, or neighbors are not necessarily getting the supports they need in their key developmental years, according to Zinsser's study. Such care, "far from being an 'ideal' solution, is often of poor quality, unreliable, and lacks continuity."

Unregulated care has claimed many young victims. Eighteen-month-old Jessica McClure, staying with an aunt who was operating an unregulated family day care home, was almost one of them when she made her much-publicized fall down a well in Texas last year. A two-year-old New Britain, Connecticut, child, also being cared for in an unregulated home, was not as lucky. He died in October 1987 after tumbling into the path of a school bus.

Low Provider Salaries Contribute to Poor Child Care Quality

Both the availability and quality of child care are undermined by the low salaries offered in the child care field. New Census Bureau data reveal that child care workers' wages actually shrank 25 percent from 1979 to 1986. The mean hourly earnings of female full-time providers dropped from $2.67 to $1.99, measured in inflation-adjusted dollars. (These figures exclude in-home caregivers.)

Child care providers today are paid less per hour than animal caretakers, bartenders, or parking lot attendants. Only one-half of all child care workers receive health benefits; not even one in five has a retirement plan. Not surprisingly, many child care workers move on to other professions.

> Despite a degree in child development and four years of experience, Jane Morris was earning only $5.00 an hour as the head teacher in a St. Paul, Minnesota, day care center before she left to work as a secretary and do graduate work in public affairs. "I was tired of being tired and tired of being poor," she said. "Even the work-study students made more than the regular staff. After a while you figure it isn't worth it."

Low wages mean high turnover in the child care profession—a problem that exacts a high cost from our children. The staff turnover rate is now a disturbing 42 percent a year in child care centers and 67 percent a year in family day care homes. Carolee Howes at the University of California at Los Angeles, who studied children in child care between eighteen months and three years of age, found major ill effects resulting from high turnover among providers. The children in her study whose day care providers changed several times demonstrated less self-control and less confidence than peers who had stable environments.

A worried Alabama mother talks about what staff turnover means to her child:

> "I have a three-year-old son in a day care program in a small rural area church. We have run into the problem of changing teachers every week or every other week or so. I have talked with the day care director who I respect very much and she says that the problem is not the children, but the pay. . . . While my son enjoys school after he gets there, we have the problem of him not wanting to go in the mornings, especially Mondays because he does not know who to expect to greet him."

The Leadership Vacuum: Federal, State, and Private Efforts Fail to Keep Pace With the Growing Child Care Challenge

The child care crisis can only be met through an active partnership of the federal government, state and local governments, and the private sector. Despite the tremendous growth in demand for decent and affordable child care, however, the federal leadership required to address the problem in any systematic or substantial way has been nonexistent. On the three key issues of affordability, availability, and quality, the federal government has abdicated responsibility in recent years, implicitly relying on the states and the private sector to meet the need. While a handful of state governments and corporations have made valiant efforts, most have done little or nothing, leaving America's parents and children to cope alone with a growing crisis. Families with young children and low or moderate incomes have been hurt the most.

Affordability

Title XX-funded child care help: The federal government has no program with the sole purpose of providing direct assistance to help lower income families pay for child care. Only the Title XX Social Services Block Grant—which provides federal funds to states to cover a very wide range of social service needs—is even partially available for this purpose. Most states devote some of their Title XX allocations to help poor families pay for child care, but the proportion varies widely and averages only about 18 percent.

Moreover, that 18 percent is sliced from a shrinking pie. Title XX suffered a 20 percent reduction in FY 1982, and since then has received only two modest increases, not enough to offset the impact of either that cut or years of inflation. After adjusting for inflation, the federal Title XX appropriation for FY 1988 is less than half that of FY 1977.

The dwindling Title XX funds available have fallen farther and farther behind the nation's growing need for child care help. Even before the deep cuts, Title XX-funded child care programs in FY 1977 served only 12 percent of the 3.3 million poor children younger than six. Nine years later, the number of poor children in that age group had grown to 4.8 million, many of whom have working parents, but child care programs had less Title XX money to spend.

Some states have attempted to make up for shrinking federal help by increasing their own state funding commitments for Title XX child care. This trend has increased in the past three years, as more governors and state legislators have acknowledged the link between child care and their states' economic vitality. But despite scattered notable efforts, states' overall spending for child care in real dollars is still stuck roughly at 1981 levels. In 1987 twenty-eight states spent less in real dollars for child care funded through the Title XX Social Services Block Grant than they did in FY 1981.

The bottom line of federal and state ups and downs in Title XX funding is that fewer of the families who need such help are now getting it. Only eighteen states are serving more children than they did in 1981, while twenty-two states are serving fewer. At the same time, the number of children younger than six living in poverty rose.

Federal tax breaks for child care: The largest federal effort to help families pay for child care comes through a provision in the federal tax law: the dependent care tax credit. It allows a family to deduct from its federal income tax bill between 20 and 30 percent of its annual child care expenses (up to a maximum expense of $2,400 for one child or $4,800 for two or more children).

The lower a family's income, in theory, the larger the percentage it may deduct. But in practice the tax credit is of little or no help to those who need it the most. Low- and low-moderate-income families, after the tax reform law takes full effect in 1988, have no or very small federal income tax liabilities, so having a credit to subtract from taxes provides no relief. In 1985, when families using the credit saved a total of more than $2.9 billion on their tax bills, less than half of this total savings went to families earning less than $25,000 a year, and that share is expected to decrease in 1988.

A second tax subsidy, the flexible benefit plan, is even more skewed toward well-off families. Under this plan, people who work for a participating employer can choose to reduce their taxable income by up to $5,000 to cover the cost of child care. The money is held by the employer in a special tax-free account and is used to pay the employee's child care expenses. Such a plan allows well-to-do families in higher tax brackets to save significant amounts.

None of the existing tax breaks is a good vehicle to help lower income families with their child care costs. Even tax breaks that were targeted better would be a poor substitute for direct assistance because tax relief measures do not solve the basic problem of poor working families: they cannot afford the up-front cash outlay for child care, regardless of whether they can expect a partial reimbursement months later through the tax code.

Other scattered recent federal, state, and private efforts: Since 1981 new efforts initiated by the federal government to help families pay for child care have been too small even to be termed modest. They have included: $8 million to provide start-up funds for school-age child care and for resource and referral services; $10 million authorized to help children who need child care as a respite service and for those in crisis nurseries; $10 million authorized to help low-income college students pay for the care they need to complete their education; and $1.5 million to help caregivers seeking to improve their skills and earn a Child Development Associate credential.

Meanwhile, several pre-existing federal programs that help bolster child care services have taken a battering, suffering losses of funds in amounts far larger than these new initiatives add. One such program, the Child Care Food Program, helps child care centers and family day care homes serve nutritious meals to children. In addition to feeding hungry youngsters, this program has provided another urgently needed benefit: improving the quality of child care. The program requires participating providers to be licensed or regulated by their states. But cutbacks have reduced the program from three meals and two snacks per day to only two meals and one snack, regardless of how long children are in care.

In an attempt to meet the most urgent child care needs neglected by the federal government, some states have moved ahead to create new programs funded entirely through state or state and local dollars. These initiatives often aim to assist special populations, such as families headed by teen parents or with school-age children, or provide funds to help with programs' start-up costs. Even the most progressive state efforts, with rare exceptions, have been quite limited in their scope or funding. Few states have taken bold steps to address the wide spectrum of needs that must be met to create a comprehensive system of high quality, affordable child care.

In addition, very few employers have made any significant investment in child care for their employees and only a minority of those provide funding assistance. Corporations' on-site child care centers may sound like a good solution to America's child care problem, but even these have a number of limitations. According to *Fortune* magazine, such centers have few openings and certain employees get preferential treatment. Manufacturers tend to locate day care centers at headquarters where their higher paid employees work, while offering no child care at their factories. Moreover, the costs are often high. The result, as described by one child care management consultant, is that people using the centers are "well-paid professionals who can afford the fees." Fees at a center at the U.S. House of Representatives in the District of Columbia range up to $130 a week for infants. The weekly fees at a new U.S. General Services Administration center are $87.50 for preschool-age children and $115 for infants.

Availability and Quality

Neither the federal government nor the states have done much to help parents in the difficult and sometimes impossible process of finding high quality, affordable child care.

Resource and referral programs can facilitate this process in many ways. By keeping listings of licensed and regulated child care providers in the community, a resource and referral program can help parents locate high quality child care that meets their needs. Adequately funded resource and referral programs can improve the quality of child care as well by offering support services such as training to providers and helping to recruit and support new family day care providers. Finally, because they keep track of the need for various kinds of child care, these programs can be of invaluable assistance to policymakers in planning the development of child care services in a community.

Because so little federal or state help is available, most localities have no resource and referral programs. The majority of states do not help fund the operating costs of a statewide system. California and Massachusetts fund the most extensive state networks of resource and referral programs. Only fourteen other states and the District of Columbia provide any state funds at all to start or operate such programs. Although an increasing number of employers are investing in resource and referral programs, these services generally are limited to their employees and are not made available to the wider community. Thus, most families have no access to these valuable services.

Similarly, the federal government has done little to help improve the quality of child care. In a step backward, the federal government in 1981 abandoned its efforts to set minimum standards for child care programs that receive federal funds. The only remaining standards—set by individual states—vary widely and are often so inadequate they fail to provide for the most basic safety of the children in these programs.

- Thirty-one states do not establish any maximum group size for preschoolers, while twenty-five states do not set a maximum for infants. Research shows that a small group is the key to each child's learning, health, and safety.
- Only twenty-six states require continuing training for teachers while they are employed in child care centers. Forty-two require none for home family day care providers. Twenty-two states require no training before teachers come to work in child care centers. Seven states have no training requirements of any kind.
- Ten states have no specific health training requirements for staff of child care centers. At least seven states do not require staff to wash their hands, even after diapering youngsters.
- Twenty-nine states have no regulations guaranteeing unlimited parental access to child care centers—another key safeguard of quality and safety. Thirty-five states do not guarantee parents unlimited access to family day care homes.
- Only three states require centers to meet the crucial recommendation of the National Association for the Education of Young Children that no more than three infants should be cared for by one person. A low ratio enables the caregiver to pay adequate attention to each infant's feeding needs, safety, and development.

The absence of standards hurts children and families. A 1985 study of child abuse and neglect in North Carolina's day care programs found that complaints against unregistered family day care providers were three times as likely to be severe as those against registered homes. Furthermore, child care centers that were subject to lower state standards and less monitoring were five times as likely to be the subject of serious complaints as programs that met higher state standards and were monitored more frequently.

Unmet Needs for Child Care Escalate

Due to the leadership vacuum in addressing the child care challenge, the unmet needs of children and families escalate across the nation.

- In a 1986 survey, 230 public housing projects around the country with on-site child care centers reported combined waiting lists totaling 96,000 children.
- In Florida in 1986 two young boys died at home alone while on the state's Title XX child care waiting list. Yet the waiting lists for Florida child care assistance grew again in 1987—to nearly 30,000 children statewide. In one recent ninety-day period, in just three Florida counties studied (Orange, Osceola, and Seminole), the following children were refused child care assistance due to lack of funds: nine abused children; 176 children whose mothers had applied for an employment and training program but who remained on welfare because they lacked child care help; 200 children whose AFDC mothers had found jobs but couldn't work because of child care problems; six children of migrant farm workers who, due to the unavailability of child care, had to accompany their parents to dangerous work sites; and 2,073 other children whose low- or moderate-income working families were eligible for child care assistance under the state's own criteria—which are designed to help parents continue working and stay off welfare—but for whom there were inadequate appropriated funds.
- Half the counties in Kentucky provide not a penny of child care assistance to low-income working families.
- Seattle and New York City each serves only one of five eligible children.
- The state of California, which funds the largest school-age child care program in the nation, provides child care assistance to only 8,000 of the estimated 500,000 to 550,000 eligible children.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

In the face of a growing child care crisis, the Administration not only fails to recommend any new federal child care efforts but also recommends cutting back already inadequate federal investments in existing programs. The President's proposals would further weaken the minimal federal commitment to child care by:

- Failing to support the continuation of the $50 million increase over FY 1987 levels authorized in FY 1988 in the Title XX Social Services Block Grant. Title XX is the largest direct source of federal support for child care. Moreover, the Administration would dilute Title XX funds by phasing out over several years the $335 million Community Services

Block Grant and assuming that Title XX would absorb some of the costs of its services. This would be likely to cause a cut in Title XX child care in a number of states.

- Failing to request any funding for the $10 million program (part of the Higher Education Amendments) that Congress authorized beginning in 1986 to provide child care services to low-income college and graduate school students.
- Eliminating the Work Incentive Program (WIN), which helps states provide child care as well as work and training activities for AFDC recipients. The Administration would substitute a program that would require AFDC recipients with young children to participate in education or work programs but would earmark no funds to help provide them with needed child care.
- Failing to request the $5 million authorized in FY 1988 for a demonstration project funding child care in public housing projects.

CDF Recommendations

Working in a partnership with states and the private sector, the federal government must enact a substantial new program to make affordable, appropriate, quality care more readily available to the nation's low- and moderate-income families. The keystone of that plan, the Act for Better Child Care Services (H.R. 3660, S. 1885) was introduced in Congress in the fall of 1987. The Act calls for a $2.5 billion first-year federal investment in child care—a necessary commitment of resources if our nation is to begin to address the child care crisis.

To make child care affordable for more American families, the Act would:

- Provide states with funds to offer child care assistance to families earning less than 115 percent of the state's median income, adjusted for family size. The amount of assistance would depend on the family's income; families with lower incomes would get more help. Families with parents in training would benefit as well.
- Allow states to provide this assistance both through contracts with child care providers and certificates that would be given directly to parents to purchase care.

To help states increase the availability of child care facilities and qualified providers, the Act would:

- Encourage states to establish grant and low-interest loan programs to start and broaden child care services.
- Fund recruitment and training of new family day care providers.
- Devote a portion of the new funds to existing early childhood development, Head Start, and Chapter 1 preschool programs, as well as preschool programs for the handicapped, enabling the programs to extend their hours of service beyond part-day. The extended hours would better meet the needs of children whose parents have full-time jobs.

- Make funds available for developing local resource and referral programs that link parents with child care services.

To help states improve the quality of child care, the Act would:

- Make funds available for training and technical assistance for child care providers.
- Require states to develop a plan to improve wages and benefits for child care providers.
- Require states to review and update their child care licensing standards periodically.
- Require states to meet minimum child care standards in key areas affecting children's health and well-being, such as adult supervision, basic health and safety, caregiver training, and parental involvement.
- Allow funds to be used to help providers meet child care standards.
- Make funds available to help states improve compliance with child care standards by training and hiring additional staff to monitor child care programs.
- Establish consumer education programs to help parents make wise child care choices, and set up state child care hotlines for additional child care information.

Child Care: Funding and Budget Requests, FY 1981-FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	Social Services Block Grant/ Title XX	Child Care Food Program
FY 1981 actual	$2,991.8	$295.0
FY 1982 proposed	—[1]	242.8
FY 1982 actual	2,460.0	270.5
FY 1983 proposed	1,974.0	—[2]
FY 1983 actual	2,456.0	335.2
FY 1984 proposed	2,560.0	—[2]
FY 1984 actual	2,700.0	378.1
FY 1985 proposed	2,700.0	—[2]
FY 1985 actual	2,725.0	434.9
FY 1986 proposed	2,700.0	322.3
FY 1986 actual	2,700.0	475.8
After Gramm-Rudman	2,583.9	475.8
FY 1987 proposed	2,700.0	338.1
FY 1987 actual	2,700.0	551.3
FY 1988 proposed	2,700.0	373.6
FY 1988 actual	2,750.0[3]	580.1
FY 1989 proposed	2,700.0	641.2

[1] A large number of programs were proposed for inclusion in the Social Services Block Grant; total funding for the block grant would have been cut by 25 percent.

[2] Proposed to repeal, include in block grant; funding would have been cut by 27 percent in FY 1983, by 30 percent in FY 1984, and by 4 percent in FY 1985.

[3] An additional $50 million was contained in the reconciliation bill but not the continuing resolution passed in 1987. The sum should be available to states during FY 1988.

HEAD START

A child grows and develops at an extraordinarily rapid pace during the first five years of life. During this period environmental factors have a significant impact. Such positive factors as involvement in a diverse array of activities, opportunities for constructive stimulation, and extensive interaction with other children and adults all can help enhance a child's development and later learning capability.

High quality, comprehensive early childhood development programs help to lay the foundation on which many children can build the basic skills they must have for success in school and later at work. For disadvantaged children, such programs can be especially crucial, often helping to compensate for the harmful effects of poverty.

Demographic changes are making it all the more crucial that every American youngster get off to a strong start. Young people (between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four) made up 27 percent of the working-age population in 1978. By contrast, in 2005, when today's four- and five-year-olds are in their early twenties, sixteen- to twenty-four-year-olds will account for only 20 percent of the working-age population. As the proportion of young workers shrinks, the value of each individual's potential to our economy and society increases.

Recognizing this, leaders in business and government now are calling for increased investments in early childhood development programs, especially those that serve disadvantaged youngsters, to assure that every child gets off to a strong and equal start.

- The business-led Committee for Economic Development, in its 1987 report, Children in Need: Investment Strategies for the Educationally Disadvantaged, states that programs for disadvantaged children that stress developmental learning and social growth (including quality preschool for three- and four-year-olds) represent "a superior educational investment for society." CED recommends that the nation expand the Head Start program until every eligible child has an opportunity to participate. " . . . If the nation defers the expense of preventive programs during the formative years," according to the CED report, "it will incur much higher and more intractable costs for older children who have already experienced failure."

- The National Governors' Association, in its 1986 report, Time for Results: The Governors' 1991 Report on Education, says that quality early childhood programs "reduce the high school dropout rate, increase the college attendance rate, increase employment, and reduce the welfare and crime rates after high school."
- In a 1987 article about persistent poverty in the United States, Fortune magazine advocated the inclusion of comprehensive early childhood development programs (such as Head Start) in the child care component of new programs designed to help welfare recipients become self-sufficient.

Despite the broad and growing recognition of the importance of early childhood development programs, such programs remain far beyond the economic reach of many of the families whose children most need this help. Low family income, combined with inadequate public investment in early childhood development programs, makes a poor youngster today less than half as likely as a better-off peer to get an opportunity to participate. In 1985 fewer than 33 percent of four-year-olds (and 17 percent of three-year-olds) with family incomes below $10,000 a year were enrolled in preschool programs, according to data provided by the U. S. Department of Education's Center for Statistics to Sheila Kamerman and Alfred Kahn of the Columbia University School of Social Work. In contrast, 67 percent of four-year-olds and 54 percent of three-year-olds whose families had incomes of $35,000 a year or more attended preschool programs that year.

The reason for this discrepancy is obvious. Almost 5 million children younger than age six live in families whose incomes are below the poverty level. These families, and many others with incomes only a little above the poverty line, cannot afford to enroll their children in preschool programs that can cost $3,000 a year or more. For a poverty-level family of four, that amount is more than one-fourth its total annual income.

Poor children, whose families are least likely to be able to afford the cost, stand to gain the most from a well-structured preschool experience. They need the extra nutritional and health services as well as the education component that a quality program provides.

In 1985-1986, the nation spent $146 billion for the education of children in public elementary and secondary schools as well as preschool. But preschool receives a tiny fraction of government funds: approximately $1.5 billion for FY 1987. Preschool education is not regarded as a priority even though some studies suggest that as many as one-third of the children eligible to attend kindergarten are not ready to do so.

Closing the Opportunity Gap: Lessons of the Head Start Program

Since 1965 the federal Head Start program has pioneered a tremendously successful approach to helping low-income children develop, learn, and grow. The program's ambitious goals include: working to improve children's health and aiding in their emotional, social, and motivational development; expanding their ability to think, reason, and speak clearly; and helping children and families gain greater confidence, self-respect, and dignity. The program emphasizes strong parent involvement to reach these goals.

Head Start is targeted on the children who need its help the most—youngsters, including many from single-parent families, whose families have incomes below the poverty level. Rhode Island's eight Head Start programs are typical: out of a total of 1,571 children served in 1986, 1,369 were poor, 1,203 lived in single-parent families, and 220 were handicapped.

Head Start has succeeded in helping needy children and their families better their lives by following two common-sense precepts.

First, children from low-income backgrounds need comprehensive services to make the most of any program to help them develop and grow. Hungry children cannot thrive, much less learn, so Head Start provides nutritional services to make up for the fact that many poor children do not get enough to eat. Children afflicted by untreated hearing problems, poor eyesight, or undiagnosed illnesses cannot reap the full rewards of developmental programs, so Head Start provides the health screenings, immunizations, and follow-up that a poor child's family usually cannot afford. Because low-income children especially need at least an equal start and often extra help in preparing for their school experience, the program provides high-quality preschool services. Finally, Head Start helps families avoid unnecessary stresses, and in some cases potential family breakup and foster care placements, by providing preventive services such as family counseling, assistance to family members in coping with substance abuse problems, and referral to government assistance programs such as food stamps.

Head Start's comprehensive approach makes a quantifiable difference for children. Head Start children are more likely to meet the basic requirements for elementary school and less likely later to be held back a grade or assigned to a special education class than are similarly situated children who do not attend the program. Children in Head Start receive more adequate levels of health care than children not in the program. In the program year 1986-1987, 97.5 percent of Head Start enrollees identified as needing medical treatment received it, while more than 96 percent were brought up to date in their immunizations. They also have fewer absences from school and perform better on physical tests.

The second Head Start precept is that children, parents, and the program itself all benefit from the active involvement of parents. The program enlists parents as partners in the children's learning experiences and as positive role models, helping them fulfill those roles by enhancing their own ability to succeed.

Head Start helps parents see themselves as the primary teachers and advocates for their children, a crucial step since the family is the strongest determinant of children's behavior.

Four out of five parents of Head Start children get valuable experience in both working and parenting by providing volunteer services to the program. One such parent describes how Head Start has made a difference for her:

> "I feel the nurturing program and being here with people of similar backgrounds has helped me change. There used to be times when I would feel I was so useless and needed lots of support and this is where I got it. I have grown in caring for my child, as to loving, disciplining, and also helping me cope with everyday problems. I grew up in an abusive home and now I know that's not all there is. I do not have to be abusive or abused."

For many parents, involvement in Head Start leads to self-sufficiency through the self-respect they build and the skills they learn. For some it leads to a career in child development. Nearly one-third of the paid staff of Head Start are parents of former or current Head Start children.

> Six years ago, Sammie Smith was raising her two young daughters with the help of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). When her older child was enrolled in a local Head Start program, however, Smith started working there informally, helping the teachers. With their encouragement and the increased self-esteem the experience gave her, Sammie began to participate in a Child Development Training Project, a six-week program in which parents are reimbursed for assisting Head Start providers. "I learned so much about children, their needs, and about myself. I began feeling good about me. Those six weeks were the most exciting and really rewarding time I had had in a long time." The program qualified her for a job as an assistant teacher. After two years of working during the day and taking classes at night, she advanced to the position of head teacher and received her Child Development Associate credential. She is now in college. Says Smith, "I'm looking forward to a long and rewarding career in teaching children—something I love doing. I would like to say to all recipients that if you keep trying and don't give up, there is life after welfare, and Head Start can provide that first step."

Study after study shows that Head Start's formula—a comprehensive program that serves children and parents—yields substantial long-term dividends to our society.

More than twenty years ago, the Perry Preschool Program in Ypsilanti, Michigan (a comprehensive program similar to Head Start) randomly selected for follow-up two groups of low-income three- and four-year-olds: those who attended the program and those who did not. A comparison of the two groups at age nineteen showed that those who had been enrolled in the program were more likely to be literate, employed, and enrolled in postsecondary education. They were less likely to be school dropouts, dependent on welfare, or arrested for delinquent or criminal activity. On the average the benefits per participant (in money saved from expenditures that did not need to be made to remedy such problems) were about six times the program cost per participant.

A similar study by the New York University School of Education followed up former participants in an enriched early childhood development program in Harlem in New York City. One hundred and seventy-eight young people who had participated in an extensive Head Start-type program in the mid-1960s were found to have benefited significantly in their adult lives. They now have an employment rate double that of a control group whose members did not participate in such a program, and they are 50 percent more likely to have graduated from high school and about one-third more likely to have gone on to some form of postsecondary education.

Our society benefits greatly from each Head Start child who goes on to lead a productive life and make a positive contribution:

> Kevin Peters has achieved a great deal since he was enrolled in a Washington, D. C. Head Start program seventeen years ago. Along with his mother, a former Head Start parent coordinator, he is very active in a nonprofit organization called Parents and Youth Against Drug Abuse. As a student at George Washington University, Kevin was appointed by the secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to serve on the National Advisory Council on Drug Abuse. Kevin subsequently was honored by George Washington University for his participation in this council and received his B.A. degree in May 1987.

Public Investment in Early Childhood Development Falls Far Short of the Need

Despite Head Start's proven success, only 16 percent of eligible children—or 453,000 youngsters nationwide—are served by the program today. Across the country, state and local Head Start directors report long waiting lists:

- Providence, Rhode Island: 550 children;
- Akron, Ohio: 200 children;
- Norfolk, Virginia: 263 children;
- Florida: 50,000 children;
- Detroit, Michigan: 1,000 children.

Nationwide, tens of thousands of children are on waiting lists, while hundreds of thousands more never apply because the waiting lists are so long that they would be well past Head Start age before the program could offer them a slot.

While the Reagan Administration has called Head Start a protected "safety net" program and supported some nominal increases in funding, it has not acted to create the growth that children's needs and Head Start's success warrant. Because of inflation since 1981 (a one-third increase in the cost of living) on top of an increase in the number of poor three- to five-year-olds (from 2.2 million to nearly 2.5 million), the 1986 federal Head Start appropriation was actually less per poor three- to five-year-old child, in inflation-adjusted dollars, than the 1981 appropriation.

In a misguided attempt to stretch thin Head Start dollars further, the Administration has weakened key supports for the program. Because it has left the Head Start training budget at the same level for more than eight years, the Administration has let inflation and the modest growth of the program erode the breadth and depth of training providers receive. The Administration also has attempted to compress the Head Start experience by shortening the length of the program year and day. Very few programs operate for a full day, despite the growing need among families with working parents for such full-time programs, and virtually all programs are closed during the summer months. Essential functions that help to ensure quality—such as program monitoring—virtually have been eliminated. Even the key parent involvement component has been threatened, as programs have been pressed to add more children but not given a concomitant increase in support staff.

Some of the states have attempted to fill the gap left by inadequate federal efforts. Encouraged by the successful results of the federally funded Head Start experience, many states gradually are expanding their financial commitments to preschool programs. Twenty-six states now invest a combined total of approximately $113 million of state funds annually in preschool. But the size and scope of their efforts vary widely, from almost nominal, such as legislation permitting the operation of preschool programs on school premises but providing no state funding stream, to more substantial, such as special appropriations for preschool or state funds to supplement Head Start. State investments range from a $189,000 pilot program in Delaware to a $46.2 million program in Texas.

To their detriment, most states' initiatives do not require the comprehensive service package that has been the hallmark of Head Start. Only a handful, like Washington State, mandate that their programs provide comprehensive services and substantial parental involvement.

Overall, therefore, states are offering very small comprehensive early childhood programs of their own or none at all. Aggregate state funding for preschool is one-tenth of federal Head Start funding. Moreover, less than one-tenth of this state funding is in turn targeted by states explicitly to supplement federal Head Start efforts for poor children.

State Funds for Head Start Programs and Number of Children Served

State	*Current Funding Level*	*Number of Children Served*
Alaska	$2,700,000	1,625
Connecticut	$ 400,000	Not applicable
District of Columbia	$1,100,000	725
Maine	$1,900,000	724
Massachusetts	$4,500,000	7,500
*Minnesota (over two years)	$2,000,000	3,500
Rhode Island	$ 345,000	Not applicable
Washington	$ 500,000	Not applicable

Information provided by Public School Early Childhood Study, Wellesley College, Center for Research on Women, and Bank Street College Center for Children's Policy.

*Minnesota allocated $3.8 million for the biennium; $2.0 million is the allocation for FY 1988.

The federal government has failed in the 1980s to produce adequate appropriations to meet the growing need, despite the heightened recognition of the critical nature of comprehensive preschool programs. The very limited state efforts are also disheartening, and provide no basis for relieving the federal government of the responsibility to expand Head Start greatly in the years to come.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

Despite the widespread recognition of Head Start's success and long waiting lists of disadvantaged youngsters, the Administration proposes funding the program at $1.206 billion in FY 1989, the same level as in FY 1988 and $126 million below the program's FY 1989 authorization level.

Because the flat funding fails to account even for inflation, the Administration's proposal would mean that fewer children would get the benefit of a Head Start experience. Administration officials claim that 454,000 children will be served in FY 1989, approximately the same number as in FY 1988. But given inflation, almost 18,000 children in fact would lose Head Start services. In addition, no new funds would be available to help programs expand or strengthen their services by improving salaries for workers, expanding training opportunities, replacing outmoded equipment, hiring new staff, or making other key program improvements.

In addition, the Administration proposes a legislative change that will hurt Head Start employees by rendering them ineligible for unemployment compensation during summer months when the program does not operate, even if they search for and can find no summer employment.

CDF Recommendations

Head Start is a model that works. It should be available each year to hundreds of thousands of additional poor youngsters. As a first step, appropriated funds should be raised to the full authorization level of $1.332 billion in FY 1989. Then, in order to reach the goal of serving 50 percent of the children eligible for Head Start in five years, Head Start authorization and appropriation levels must be increased by at least $400 million annually each year for five years. This schedule would allow well-managed growth while building toward adequate coverage beginning in 1993. Ultimately, as the Committee for Economic Development recommends, every low-income child must be able to participate in Head Start or a comparable program.

While expanding the program's size, the federal government must also invest an adequate share of the new resources in measures that will reinforce program quality. More funding must be made available to provide training for caregivers—a key determinant of quality. Second, local Head Start programs must have available a cadre of experts to monitor the programs' performance and to provide technical assistance—another essential service to ensure continuing effectiveness. Finally, the problem of inadequate staff salaries and benefits, which leads to high staff turnover rates and difficulty recruiting staff, must be addressed.

The Head Start program also should be adjusted in response to the changing needs of families. As provided in the Act for Better Child Care Services (S. 1885 and H.R. 3660), now pending in Congress, Head Start and other preschool programs should obtain the necessary federal funds to extend their hours and lengthen their program year to offer to those who want it full-day, full-year services, in order to better meet the needs of working parents. Such provisions would assure that both children of parents who are working and those whose parents are in welfare-to-work training programs can benefit from Head Start's important services.

In making policy decisions regarding programs for young children, policymakers must stop thinking of preschool programs and child care as two wholly separate entities. Child care is too often considered merely as a custodial service, simply a burden that must be borne to help mothers work, while preschool is viewed separately as a means of furthering the optimal development of young children. In fact, when they are high quality programs, both have vast potential for achieving the same objective: helping families and improving children's development. Policymakers must apply the lessons about child development learned from the Head Start experience when they design child care policies for all young children. State initiatives to provide work and training opportunities for mothers on welfare must make full-day child care programs with comprehensive developmental and educational services available to the preschool children of participants. A part-day preschool program not only does not meet the needs of working parents but also threatens to create a large group of four-year-olds who are inappropriately and unnecessarily shuttled back and forth between various programs during the day.

Head Start's comprehensive services must also be available to other groups. The local programs increasingly should be given the option to serve children younger than age three. Further, Congress should approve pending legislation that would use Head Start funds to establish comprehensive demonstration programs providing Head Start's essential services and other supports to poor women beginning in their pregnancy and then to the children throughout their preschool years.

Head Start: Funding and Budget Requests, FY 1981-FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	Head Start	Child Care Food Program	Social Services Block Grant/ Title XX	CETA[1] Public Service Employment
FY 1981 actual	$820.0	$295.0	$2,991.8	$2,195.0
FY 1982 proposed	911.7	242.8	—[2]	0.0
FY 1982 actual	911.7	270.5	2,460.0	100.0
FY 1983 proposed	912.0	—[3]	1,974.1	—
FY 1983 actual	912.0	335.2	2,456.0	—
FY 1984 proposed	974.7	—[3]	2,560.0	—
FY 1984 actual	995.0	378.1	2,700.0	—
FY 1985 proposed	995.0	—[3]	2,700.0	—
FY 1985 actual	1,075.1	434.9	2,725.0	—
FY 1986 proposed	1,075.1	322.3	2,700.0	—
FY 1986 actual	1,087.1	475.8	2,700.0	—
After Gramm-Rudman	1,040.1	475.8	2,583.9	—
FY 1987 proposed	1,075.0	338.1	2,700.0	—
FY 1987 actual	1,130.5	551.3	2,700.0	—
FY 1988 proposed	1,150.0[4]	373.6	2,700.0	—
FY 1988 actual	1,206.3	580.1	2,750.0[5]	—
FY 1989 proposed	1,206.3	641.2	2,700.0	—

[1] Head Start lost an estimated 6,000 employees when CETA Public Service Employment was eliminated.

[2] A large number of programs were proposed for inclusion in the Social Services Block Grant; total funding for the block grant would have been cut by 25 percent. Many Head Start programs use SSBG monies to provide support services.

[3] Proposed to repeal, include in block grant; funding would have been cut by 27 percent in FY 1983, by 30 percent in FY 1984, and by 4 percent in FY 1985. For FY 1984 and FY 1985, the Head Start portion of CCFP would have been transferred to the Head Start budget.

[4] Although a $20 million increase was discussed, Head Start was included in a proposed generic appropriation to twenty-six other programs whose total budget would have been $69 million below FY 1987 costs for the programs.

[5] An additional $50 million was contained in the reconciliation bill but not the continuing resolution passed in 1987. The sum should be available to states during FY 1988.

ABUSED AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN AND OTHERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

> Kimberly was three and a half years old when she died from internal injuries caused by a severe spanking and beating. For a year before her early death, the child protection system had been aware of Kimberly's history of abuse in the home of her father and stepmother. After cigarette burns, bruises, and healed fractures had been found on her body when she was two, the agency had placed her in a foster home and then with relatives. But she was returned home six months later with continued monthly supervision. Although bruises were noted in subsequent visits, child protection agency workers seem to have lost track of Kimberly when her family moved to a neighboring county. Five months later she was dead.
>
> David died of severe malnutrition at four months of age. He weighed about a half pound less than he had at birth. David's family had been the focus of repeated telephone complaints even before his birth, indicating problems for his siblings, including chronic neglect, filthy home conditions, lack of medical care and child care, poor hygiene, and educational neglect. At least once David's siblings had been removed from the home. Visits by child protection agency workers in response to these complaints had seemed to result in increased efforts by the family to care for the children adequately. Although a new baby was bound to cause additional stress in such a household, the case was closed two months after David's birth. In another two months, David was dead.

Kimberly and David (not their real names) were two casualties of child maltreatment described by the *Kansas City Times* in a November 1987 report of child deaths in Missouri and Kansas. These youngsters' deaths were not isolated cases. Data from thirty-four states collected by the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse show a 23 percent increase in fatalities resulting from the abuse and neglect of children between 1985 and 1986. The National Committee conservatively projects from its survey that maltreatment claimed the lives of at least 1,200 children in 1986.

While most American children grow up safe, secure, and emotionally well, a sizable minority of our youngsters do not. These deaths are just the most dramatic and inescapable evidence of growing threats to our children's well-being: millions of additional American children and adolescents live with abuse or neglect in their parental homes; others are awaiting permanent homes while in foster care; and members of a third group have unmet mental or emotional needs. Unless we address the needs of these children, they will intensify, and both the human and social costs will be high.

- In addition to the obvious physical dangers, the negative effects of abuse or neglect on a young child's social, emotional, or cognitive development are significant. Runaway youths, teens with drug and alcohol problems, and youths adjudicated as delinquents often have histories of abuse or neglect. A maltreated child who later becomes a parent appears to be about ten times more likely than another parent to abuse or neglect his or her own children. An estimated 30 percent of individuals who were physically or sexually abused or extremely neglected as children become abusive parents themselves.
- Studies show that many youths in foster care do less well in school than students from the general population. A June 1987 study, *Children in Out-of-Home Care,* prepared by Urban Systems Research and Engineering, Inc., for the Ohio Department of Human Services, reported that 48.9 percent of the school-age children in Ohio who were in placement and under the responsibility of the state Department of Human Services were performing below grade level in reading and 54.6 percent were performing below grade level in math. Only 28 percent of the 257 adolescents surveyed recently in four states by Westat, Inc., had completed high school or obtained a GED at the time of their discharge from foster care.
- A January 1987 paper by the congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), *Children's Mental Health: Problems and Services,* estimated that 7.5 million to 9.5 million children suffer from problems that warrant mental health treatment, but reported that only 20 to 30 percent receive needed care. At a July 1987 hearing on children's mental health held by the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, the principal author of the OTA report said that, largely because of the inadequacies of our current health care reimbursement system, many children with mental health problems are hospitalized inappropriately rather than treated by less restrictive methods. Such inpatient care not only is often inappropriate, but is extremely costly as well.

Increasing Threats to Children's Well-Being

Reports of child abuse and neglect have increased steadily since 1976, with more than a 90 percent national increase between 1981 and 1986. In 1986 alone, an estimated 2.2 million children and adolescents were reported abused, neglected, or both, according to data from the American Association for Protecting Children. Data from states indicate that neglect cases constitute more than one-half of the reports made to child protective service agencies, sexual abuse cases about 11 percent, and other physical and emotional abuse cases about 30 percent. Abused children range widely in age: approximately 40 percent are preschoolers and about one-fourth are teenagers.

Increased public awareness of the problem of abuse is in part responsible for the increased number of abuse cases brought to the attention of service agencies. However, because the percentage of cases in which abuse or neglect is substantiated has remained steady over the years (at about 40 percent), while the number of reports has climbed, it is clear that there has been a substantial real increase in the numbers of abused and neglected children.

More than three-fifths of the states reported to the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families in 1986 that the deteriorating economic conditions faced by many families were a primary contributor to the increases in child abuse and neglect since 1981. In this context, some specifically cited reductions in the help provided low-income families by cash assistance programs and in-kind programs such as medical care and housing assistance. Homelessness, for example, puts children at increased risk of abuse. Travelers Aid International studied homeless families in eight cities in 1981 for the Child Welfare League of America and estimated that the rate of abuse of children among homeless families that are moving from city to city or state to state is three times the national rate of child maltreatment.

The increasing reports of abuse also are tied closely to the broader problem of growing family violence. An estimated 1.8 million women are victims of family violence in their own homes each year, a number that is expected to grow as families shed the shroud of secrecy which such violence has traditionally worn. About 40 percent of the children of victims of spousal abuse are themselves abused. And children are emotionally victimized by domestic violence even if they are not themselves physically beaten.

The demand for services in cases of reported abuse and neglect has taxed severely even the most competent child welfare staffs and agencies. Escalating reports of abuse, neglect, and family violence, and the intensified needs of the children involved in the cases, also have boosted the number of children entering foster care in some states.

Another vulnerable group are the approximately 275,000 children and adolescents now living away from their families under the auspices of public child welfare agencies in foster family homes, group homes, residential treatment centers, and other institutions. While some have been abused or neglected, others enter care because their parents are unable to meet the demands of their disabilities or behavior problems. Still others enter because their families are homeless or too poor to support children.

This group is varied in age and background. About one-half are minority children, who are represented disproportionately in care in many states and who tend to be in care longer waiting for permanent homes. While youths thirteen and older account for an estimated 46 percent of the children in foster care, very young children also are entering the system in greater numbers in some communities. Moreover, children in foster care increasingly are reported to have more special needs, such as serious medical and emotional problems, compared with the foster care population in the past.

A third group of troubled children and adolescents making special demands on social services agencies—some of whom have been abused and some of whom have spent time in foster care—consists of the estimated 7.5 million to 9.5 million children in this country who have emotional or other problems that require mental health services. Of this group, 70 to 80 percent do not receive the care they need. Even among the approximately 3 million children who suffer from serious emotional disturbances, the majority go without appropriate treatment.

Today many of these vulnerable children and their families are being helped in a piecemeal fashion, or not at all. Only with renewed public investments in programs that can help them overcome their problems can vulnerable children look ahead to productive lives.

A Promising Beginning: Initial Federal Efforts To Help Vulnerable Children Have Had Positive Results

Recent years have seen some modest improvements in services and protections for abused and neglected children, children in foster care, and those afflicted with emotional problems. Targeted federal efforts to help these vulnerable children and their families were instituted between 1974 and 1980 and served as a catalyst for these improvements.

Many of these programs, however, have been subjected to numerous and continuing attempts by the Reagan Administration to reduce or eliminate them. Overall, funding for some of the programs is still well below 1981 levels in real dollars and funding for new initiatives has been meager. Nonetheless, important pieces of the framework necessary to begin to address the special needs of these youths have survived the Reagan presidency. And since 1984 there has been renewed congressional support for limited improvements on behalf of some of these vulnerable children and families.

Abused and Neglected Children

The first federal programs specifically designed to address the problems of child abuse and neglect were authorized in 1974 by the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act. In addition to funding for research and demonstration activities, the Act provides grants to states that have implemented certain reforms designed to protect abused and neglected children and those at risk of abuse.

The Act has stimulated many positive steps. It prompted the establishment of special procedures to identify abused and neglected children, with which most states are now in compliance. It has spurred advances in public awareness about abuse of children in out-of-home care. And federally supported demonstration projects have fostered the development of new treatment approaches to benefit abused and neglected children and their families, such as the large network of Parents Anonymous programs, which help parents who have abused their children to cope more appropriately when faced with crises.

The Act's limited funds supplement the federal funds provided to states under the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, currently the major source of federal funding for child protective services activities in the states. Title XX provides funds for staff of state and local child protective service agencies and the delivery of services. Funds are used for the investigation, management, and treatment of child abuse cases. Total Title XX funding after adjustment for inflation, however, is less than one-half what it was in 1977. The small Family Advocacy Program operated by the Defense Department and the Coast Guard's Child Abuse Program also provide federal funds for child abuse prevention and the treatment of resulting problems.

Another innovative federal program, the Child Abuse Challenge Grants Program enacted in 1984, provides federal incentive grants equal to about 25 percent of the revenues generated by state Children's Trust Funds (collected by levying special taxes or fees) or other state initiatives to prevent and treat abuse. Since the program's enactment, the number of states using trust funds to collect money for such activities has more than doubled to thirty-eight, and the funds collected have increased more than five-fold.

Congress also has authorized funds since 1984 for various initiatives focused on different population groups or specific aspects of the child abuse problem. The Family Violence Prevention and Services Program funds state grants, training of law enforcement personnel, programs addressing family violence among Native Americans, and a national information and research clearinghouse on family violence. In the two years during which states have had access to these funds, the program has enabled numerous shelters to expand services for battered women and their children who otherwise would be turned away. The federal funds also have served as a catalyst for increased state and local funding commitments in this area.

Also among the newest initiatives are several that protect the rights of child victims and seek to reduce the trauma caused by their participation in state and federal courts. To this end, the 1986 Children's Justice and Assistance Act amended both the Victims of Crime Act and the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act. Funded from federal court fines and penalty assessments against persons convicted of federal offenses, it provides grants to encourage additional states to join the approximately ten that already have enacted provisions for better protection in the judicial process of victims of child abuse. Second, the Child Abuse Victim's Rights Act seeks recommendations from the Attorney General of the United States on federal courtroom procedures to facilitate the participation of child witnesses in child abuse cases. A third initiative, the Temporary Child Care for Handicapped Children and Crisis Nurseries Act of 1986, provides funding for the support of crisis nurseries for abused children or children at risk of abuse.

Although available resources have fallen far short of the need, these varied federal approaches to child abuse and neglect have been a necessary supplement to state resources and have enabled states to demonstrate the effectiveness of new prevention and treatment approaches.

Children in Foster Care

Many of the tens of thousands of children in foster care have benefited from the protections and services developed in states as a result of the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980 (PL 96-272). The Act encourages states: to provide services to prevent the unnecessary out-of-home placement of children; to ensure appropriate quality placements for children; and to encourage the permanent placement of all foster children, either at home or in adoptive families. The Act's requirements for improved data systems, individual case plans, and periodic case reviews also offer enhanced protection to individual children and have opened up the practices of state child welfare agencies to much-needed increased scrutiny.

PL 96-272 deserves much credit for the decrease in the overall number of children in foster care in this decade, and for reducing the median time children spend in care in a number of states. The Act's provision of federal funds for subsidies to pave the way for the adoption of children with special needs has improved the adoption prospects of children who are older or who have physical, emotional, or mental disabilities. An estimated 30,000 children benefited from this part of the program in FY 1987, a significant increase over the 165 who were adopted during the first year of the Act's implementation.

The same goals have been furthered by the small Adoption Opportunities Program, authorized in 1978 and more than doubled in funding in FY 1986. This program assists a range of activities designed to reduce barriers to the adoption of special needs children. Activities include enhanced outreach and recruitment programs on behalf of children waiting in foster care and targeted efforts on behalf of disabled children.

Equally important, PL 96-272 has in some states stimulated efforts to prevent the unnecessary placement of children in foster care and to facilitate reunification of children in care with their families, efforts that have helped children as well as saved public money.

- A family preservation services project in Columbia County, Georgia, resulted in a 28 percent reduction in foster care expenditures between 1984 and 1985. The project prevented placement in 92 percent of its child protective service cases. It also achieved family reunification for 59 percent of the children served who were already in foster care.
- An intensive preventive services project in Virginia successfully averted foster care for 93 percent of the 715 children at risk of placement. The average cost per child was $1,214, contrasted with the cost for foster care of $11,173 per child, assuming an average stay of 4.6 years.
- An intensive reunification services project in three Maryland counties and Baltimore City resulted in 60 percent of the 1,035 children served being reunited with their families. It reduced the average length of time in care by about two and a half years. Project funds enabled intensive family-focused services to be provided in the clients' homes and allowed expenditures to purchase basic necessities, such as housing, that helped family stability. For every $1.00 invested in the project, $2.52 in foster care costs have been avoided.

Finally, PL 96-272 has had another very important result: enhanced awareness of the unmet needs of children in foster care and heightened congressional attention to those special needs. One example is Congress' inclusion for FY 1987-1988 in the federal foster care program of a special initiative designed to help older teens in foster care make the transition to independent living. Despite initial foot-dragging by the Administration, all states eventually received independent living funds and now are implementing a variety of services and activities. In a related measure, Congress in 1987 amended the federal foster care program to provide eligibility to the infants and young children of minor parents already in foster care themselves in order to encourage their living together in the same foster family home or group care facility whenever appropriate.

Severely Disturbed Children and Adolescents

Only recently has the federal government focused attention on the special needs of children who are seriously emotionally disturbed and those who are at risk of such problems.

In 1984 Congress launched a new initiative, the Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP). The major goal of CASSP is to improve the quantity and quality of services delivered to seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents. It does this by fostering better the development of a focus on children within states' mental health systems, and by enabling better cooperation between state child welfare, juvenile justice, education, health, and mental health agencies in the delivery of appropriate services to each child who needs help. As of January 1988, twenty-eight states and nine local projects have received CASSP grants. Efforts are underway to encourage participation by the remaining states. Funding climbed from $1.5 million in FY 1984 to $7.445 million in FY 1988.

With a modest amount of funds, CASSP has stimulated significant state-level activity.

- Kentucky's CASSP was instrumental in getting the state's Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation Services to increase its funding from zero in FY 1986 to nearly $600,000 in FY 1988 for interagency efforts on behalf of children with severe emotional problems. Like many of the projects, Kentucky's CASSP also has focused special efforts on supporting and mobilizing parents of all children with emotional problems and increasing public awareness of the unmet needs of minority children.
- Looking at a system with virtually no mental health services for very young children, Tennessee's CASSP has stimulated the development of approximately forty early childhood programs in the state. Advances also have been made in addressing the treatment needs of juvenile justice clients, in part through the establishment of multi-agency case assessment and management teams to treat hard-to-manage, multi-problem youths.

In their efforts to meet children's mental health needs, states also have used funds from the federal Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant. The program requires that states set aside at least 10 percent of their share of the block grant's mental health funds for new or expanded services for underserved areas and populations, including severely disturbed children and adolescents. It is an essential supplement to CASSP grants, which cannot be used for direct services. Although the set-aside totals less than $20 million that must be spread among all underserved groups, it has had some positive impact in enabling states to develop badly needed services for disturbed children and adolescents.

- In an October 1987 report, the U.S. General Accounting Office notes that California officials allocated $1.5 million in set-aside funds in 1986 for twenty new projects for children, adolescents, and other underserved populations. These include early childhood intervention projects, an intensive day treatment program, and a residential treatment program for severely disturbed adolescents.
- In Texas the set-aside requirement provided the impetus for expanding an existing alternative family support project for emotionally disturbed and mentally disabled children. It also played a catalytic role in establishing a specialized day-treatment project for aggressive and violent emotionally disturbed adolescents.

Several other hopeful federal initiatives were enacted in 1986. The Protection and Advocacy for Mentally Ill Individuals Act provided $10.5 million in FY 1987 and $10.55 million in FY 1988 for advocacy and other services. The protection and advocacy agencies that are to be established in each state will provide legal protection from the threat of abuse or neglect to mentally ill persons in residential facilities (including small group homes) and promote the development of alternative services to meet their needs. Congress also passed a law requiring states to develop by 1988 comprehensive mental health services plans designed to establish organized systems of care for chronically mentally ill individuals, both children and adults.

In a victory important to very young emotionally disturbed children, Congress in 1986 (in PL 99-457) amended the Education for All Handicapped Children Act to require that states establish and provide a system of early intervention services for infants and toddlers with disabilities and their families. By 1991 states are expected to begin to serve all young children in need of services. The likelihood of a coordinated response on behalf of children and adolescents among these initiatives also should be enhanced by the recent establishment of a Child and Adolescent Family Support Branch within the National Institute of Mental Health.

Where communities have adequate resources to invest in children's mental health, programs work well, helping children to get better and saving society money.

- Programs at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic help reduce unnecessary admissions to community and state hospitals and are highly cost-effective. One of them, the Social Rehabilitation Program, provides intensive in-home services to troubled families twenty-four hours a day. During its first year, at a per child expense of $6,000 to $7,000 a year, this program averted costly hospital care (often costing more than $100,000 per child per year) for 100 children and adolescents. Another effort, the clinic's Host Home Program, provides specialized foster homes for children as an alternative to institutionalization, at approximately one-third the cost.
- Coordinated community-based services for seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents designed to help them live with their families are also working well in California. Since June 1985 the Ventura County, California, Mental Health Agency has been successful in reducing out-of-county, court-ordered juvenile justice and social services placements by 46 percent, and reducing state hospital use to 25 percent of its 1980-1981 level. The model has been so successful that the state of California recently required all its counties to develop similar programs over the next three years, estimating that the resulting savings in state hospital costs alone could be $17 million a year.

The Widening Gap: Overwhelmed Service Systems Are Unable To Meet Children's Needs

The federal government has begun to recognize the complex needs of abused and neglected children and adolescents, youths in foster care, and those with serious emotional problems. But current resources and systems remain grossly inadequate to meet the increasing needs of these youths and their families.

Abused and Neglected Children

The significant increases in abuse and neglect reports since 1980 have overwhelmed child protective service agencies charged with responding to such reports. Thirty states reported increases in excess of 50 percent between 1981 and 1985, and more than one-third of the states reported increases in excess of 20 percent between 1984 and 1985 alone. A more recent survey by the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse found continuing increases between 1985 and 1986 in twenty-three of the thirty-three states that responded.

While reports of abuse and neglect escalated between 1981 and 1985, federal resources for prevention and treatment fell further and further behind the demand. More than four-fifths of the thirty-one states that reported to the

U.S. House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families on resource trends from FY 1981 to FY 1985 said they lost federal support. The Committee reported that states lost a total of $131.5 million (in constant 1982 dollars) during that period. The Title XX Social Services Block Grant, for example, was reduced 23 percent in real dollars. Although overall funding for the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Programs was increased slightly, the $26 million available would not even provide $150 for services for each child reported abused or neglected in 1985, not to mention the thousands of other children who are at risk of maltreatment.

During the same period, state and local resources in many areas also declined or increased only slightly. South Dakota, where child abuse reports jumped by 82.3 percent, cut funds for child abuse activities 37.2 percent.

The results of budget cuts are predictable: larger caseloads, longer delays in responding to reports, more cursory investigation of reports, and a reduction in the range and frequency of services provided. Inadequate funding also means inadequate numbers of staff, inadequate resources to hire and retain qualified workers, inadequate staff training and supports, and high turnover. Child protection workers often must make life and death decisions with insufficient resources and supports.

- Between 1981 and 1985, when confirmed cases of child abuse and neglect in Oregon climbed from 1,867 to 12,000, there was no increase in child protection personnel. Further, related staff such as law enforcement personnel, district attorneys, mental health professionals, and school counselors were reduced.
- Kentucky lost 141 social workers and 152 other key child protection staff positions at a time when reports of child abuse doubled and the foster care population increased. This overload forced the state to redirect its efforts from prevention and treatment to crisis intervention.
- In New York City, high staff attrition and increasing numbers of abuse and neglect reports greatly increased workers' caseloads. Turnover among protective and diagnostic workers was a shocking 67 percent in FY 1986, while abuse and neglect reports jumped by 14 percent in just one year. The average number of workers each month who were responsible for caseloads of fifty or more grew from twenty-four to 118.

A similar inability to meet the needs of abuse victims adequately has been reported by family violence programs. Local programs are unable to accommodate many battered women and their children, with grave consequences. In state after state, there are reports of families being turned away from shelters.

- The New York State Commissioner on Social Services testified at a congressional hearing in early 1987 about the growing demand for help from domestic violence programs. The New York State Coalition Against Domestic Violence reported that 6,000 victims of family violence were sheltered during 1986, but an additional 8,500 victims were refused shelter in New York due to space limitations.
- In a recent twelve-month period, the eighteen domestic violence programs in Connecticut provided more than 1,000 women and 1,500 children with short-term emergency shelter, but were forced to turn away almost twice that number due to lack of space.

Despite these alarming trends, the Administration attempted to slow funding for the Family Violence Prevention and Services Program which

Congress created in 1984. Prevention efforts also were impeded by the Administration's attempts to delay and eliminate funding for the Child Abuse Challenge Grants Program.

There are tested program models that work for abused children and their families, and providers who are eager to move forward to deliver prevention or treatment. Sadly, resource limitations stop such efforts from going forward. Available funds often are used for investigations, and services must take a back seat.

- The first request for proposals under the New York State Children and Family Trust Fund attracted 418 applications from service providers, totaling $27 million, but the $2.25 million available allowed for only forty-seven awards. In Vermont, where only $150,000 was allocated to the Children's Trust Fund to support proven, community-based primary prevention programs, requests totaling $1.6 million were submitted by community agencies.

The most chilling evidence of the current overload on state child protection and service systems is the increase in deaths of children caused by maltreatment. About one-half of the deaths are the result of battering; the remainder are the result of neglect. Given timely intervention, some of these children would be alive today. Studies in individual states and communities have established that 25 to 50 percent of the maltreated children who died were previously known to local child welfare agencies. State officials include the inadequacy of public efforts among their list of causes for rising deaths, along with growing drug problems, higher rates of teen pregnancy, and the stresses resulting from increasing poverty.

Children in Foster Care

The heightened demand on child welfare systems has diluted their ability to provide adequate services for the children in their care. The foster care system today is engulfed by a series of difficult challenges. One is increasing poverty and homelessness among families. A second is the widespread and growing use of crack and other drugs which results in births of infants at high risk for medical and developmental problems and makes family problems more difficult to treat. Finally, the spread of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) is affecting more and more infants, children, and adolescents, requiring intensive supports for them and their families and appropriate alternative placements for those who cannot remain at home.

These new challenges come on top of a difficult ongoing agenda that includes efforts to prevent unnecessary foster care placements, to develop more appropriate services and placements for troubled children, to prepare youths in care adequately to move toward self-sufficiency, and to find permanent adoptive families for all children who need them.

Despite decreases in the number of children in foster care in many states, several states—particularly those with large urban centers—report that the number of children entering care is going up, not down. New York City, for example, experienced a 29 percent increase in the demand for foster care placements between 1985 and 1986. Illinois saw a 31.6 percent increase in children entering care from early 1986 to early 1987. Growing foster care caseloads and expenditures for out-of-home care, coupled with the impact of growing demands in the area of child abuse investigations, mean that innovative efforts to prevent unnecessary foster care placements frequently get only a small portion of state and federal expenditures, if any.

Whether the numbers of children in care are going up or down, virtually every state and region agrees that children in care today pose greater challenges to the foster care system's resources. The recent Ohio study, *Children in Out-of-Home Care,* reported that almost two-thirds of the Ohio children in placement had behavior and social adjustment problems, mental health problems, and/or developmental or physical disabilities. More than 40 percent had multiple problems. About one-third of the caseload of the state child welfare agency had developmental disabilities or mental health problems or both, making it responsible for more children with such problems than either the state Department of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities or the Department of Mental Health. A 1986 report by the Virginia Department of Social Services, *The Status of Older Children in Foster Care,* revealed that the children ages ten to twenty-one in the FY 1985 sample had more emotional and behavioral problems than children entering care in 1975 or in 1980.

In some states, the increased demands on the system come at a time when foster care resources have been diverted to assist with child abuse investigations, significantly reducing the resources available for appropriate placements and supportive services. The results are often long waits for placement and short lists of available qualified foster families.

- On a single day in the spring of 1987, 144 children were waiting for placement in New York City. For nearly two-thirds of these youngsters, beds could be found for only one night at a time, and they had to come back to the agency the next day for reassignment to another temporary night's shelter. Another 300 infants were in hospitals awaiting homes at the end of February 1987. Termed "boarder babies," these infants, many born to drug-addicted mothers, had to stay in hospitals although they were medically ready for discharge.
- The number of licensed foster homes in Illinois dropped from 3,597 on June 30, 1984 to 2,790 on June 30, 1987.
- As the needs of children entering care become more severe, it is increasingly difficult to recruit and retain skilled foster parents who have the capacity and fiscal resources to meet those needs. According to a 1987 report by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, only 6 to 8 percent of parents who express interest in becoming foster parents in the District of Columbia area actually do so.

One reason for the shortage of foster families is the shamefully low rate of reimbursement a family receives for taking a foster child into its home. The American Public Welfare Association reported in 1987 that basic foster family payments for teens, which are generally higher than for younger children, range from a low of $160 a month in Mississippi to highs of $420 in Oklahoma and $565 in Alaska, with thirty-three states paying only between $200 and $300 a month. These figures fall well below the monthly cost, excluding medical care, of raising a child. For example, the U.S. Department of Agriculture estimated the June 1987 moderate-level cost of raising a rural non-farm child, ages thirteen through fifteen, at $532.25 a month in the South and $539.25 a month in the West. Limitations in training resources, the lack of specialized services, and extremely high worker caseloads also impede the appropriate placement and support of children in care.

Some states have responded to these pressures by increasing out-of-state placements. The executive director of the New Jersey Association of Children's Residential Facilities reports that the number of New Jersey children placed out of state has increased more than 50 percent in two years. In-state residential programs have been reduced substantially, and detention centers, shelters, psychiatric units, juvenile correctional facilities, and developmental disabilities programs are at or beyond capacity. The over-reliance on out-of-state placements hurts children by impeding efforts at family reunification and hampering their home state's ability to monitor the quality of care.

The foster care system also lacks the necessary resources to help children make a successful transition when they leave care. Of special concern are the tens of thousands of youths who "age out" of the system in their later teen years and have no family members or friends to whom they can turn. This is an especially urgent need because almost half of the children in substitute care nationwide are teens, and the ratio is even higher in some areas. In Minnesota in 1985, 60 percent of the children entering care were twelve or older.

The Reagan Administration's deliberate foot-dragging on implementation of and attempts to repeal the 1985 federal independent living program for youths in foster care stalled progress in the states aimed at the problems facing teens preparing to leave the system. All states applied for the funds available to them under this program, however, and are beginning to implement a range of independent living activities and services. While the priority is on initial development of policies and training of personnel, a number of states also are establishing service programs to help youths acquire daily living skills and take full advantage of education or employment opportunities. But the approximately 20,000 youths sixteen and older who are expected to benefit from these efforts represent only a small portion of the youths who need such help.

Pressures on the system have undercut states' efforts in another key area: promoting the adoption of disabled children, older children, minority children, and groups of siblings. Inadequate resources mean long waits for children, especially members of minority groups, and for families that wish to adopt.

- The New York Council on Adoptable Children (COAC), which specializes in recruiting prospective adoptive families, testified before Congress in 1987 that at that time it had 424 families (383 of which were black or Hispanic) that were waiting to adopt children. The average wait for these families was two years and three months before a child was even placed. Not surprisingly, COAC reported that up to 25 percent of the families drop out because of the delays. Yet an estimated 3,800 foster children in New York, 90 percent of them black or Hispanic, have the goal of adoption, but wait an average of six years before being adopted.
- *Growing Up Alone*, a 1987 study by the Governor's Task Force to Study Adoption Procedures in Maryland, found it takes an average of 5.1 years for a child to be adopted once he or she enters that state's foster care system. In Baltimore City, the 118 children adopted in the year ending June 1986 had spent an average of 7.4 years in care.

Despite these long waits, the Administration has opposed pending amendments to the Adoption Opportunities Act that would establish expanded programs to promote the adoption of waiting minority children and provide post-adoption services to families who need them.

Children With Serious Emotional Problems

Millions of children with mental health problems continue to be denied appropriate care. Reports from various state studies of mental health services for children cite growing demands and continuing deficiencies similar to those facing child welfare agencies: the increasing severity of the problems presented by disturbed children and their families; the continuing over-reliance on institutional settings and a lack of sufficient in-home and community-based programs designed to address children's needs and adequately support their families; the failure to address appropriately the transition needs of youths aging out of mental health programs; and the inadequate numbers of professionals trained to address appropriately the mental health needs of children and adolescents.

- As many as 85 percent of the children in numerous psychiatric inpatient units in New York State have been victims of sexual or physical abuse, according to testimony gathered by the New York State Senate Committee on Mental Hygiene for its report, *Pay Now . . . Pay Later: A Look at Mental Health Services for Children in New York.* Increasing numbers of youths from single-parent families and from families with mental health or alcoholism problems also were reported. The study also found that a largely rural twenty-one county region experienced a 23 percent increase in admissions of children to the state psychiatric centers for each of the past three years. There are no smaller community-based residential treatment facilities at all for children in the region, one-half of the counties have no day treatment programs, and one-third have no specialized clinic services. Less than 1 percent of the population younger than eighteen in that region receives any mental health services.
- A bias toward restrictive care settings for seriously disturbed children was reported in Wisconsin, despite that state's significant progress in developing community services for adults. *Kids in Crisis: A Plan for Action,* a 1987 report by the Children's Mental Health Task Group of the Wisconsin Coalition for Advocacy, notes that between 1980 and 1984 there was an overall increase in inpatient utilization for children seventeen and younger, along with a decrease in outpatient services offered. During a five-year period beginning in 1980, inpatient child and adolescent days at one Wisconsin mental hospital increased by more than 500 percent. Looking only at Medicaid expenditures in the state, payments for psychiatric inpatient hospital care for youths younger than twenty-one increased from less than $4 million in state FY 1985 to more than $14 million in FY 1986.
- The National Association of Private Psychiatric Hospitals reported an estimated 450 percent increase in children admitted to private psychiatric hospitals between 1980 and 1984. In Minnesota, for example, the rate of placement of juveniles for inpatient psychiatric treatment in private hospitals in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area doubled between 1976 and 1984.

The availability of private health insurance funding has encouraged distraught parents to seek placements of juveniles in inpatient psychiatric units and chemical dependency treatment programs because they often see no alternatives.

A 1987 report prepared for the CASSP Technical Assistance Center at the Georgetown University Child Development Center by Fox Health Policy Consultants documented the shortcomings of the federal Medicaid program in meeting the special needs of severely emotionally disturbed youths. Although more flexibility for states to offer in-home and community-based care as alternatives to restrictive settings like hospitals has been built into the federal Medicaid program in the past several years, relatively few states have taken advantage of these options. Only Vermont, for example, has used an option offering reimbursement for mental health services in the home. Only a few states have used a case management services option to assemble appropriate services for at-risk youths, although several more have submitted plans. States also are underutilizing Medicaid's Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment (EPSDT) component as a resource for severely disturbed children and adolescents. States can use Medicaid dollars to pay for mental health treatment services for problems identified in the EPSDT screening, even if these services are not generally available for adult Medicaid recipients. Yet only seven states require any formal EPSDT screening for psychological and psychiatric problems.

Congress and the Reagan Administration also have under-invested in another source of help for non-institutional alternatives: mental health funds in the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant. Funding for the block grant in FY 1988, approximately 50 percent of which is used for mental health services, will be $22 million below what it was in FY 1987, and more than 40 percent below its 1981 funding level in inflation-adjusted dollars.

CASSP has provided critical incentives in more than half the states to focus more attention and coordinated efforts on children's mental health, but it cannot compensate for the dearth of available funds for actual in-home or community-based direct services. Funds under CASSP reach only twenty-eight states and are not sufficient to assist many of the remaining states that repeatedly have applied for help.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

The Administration's proposals do nothing to address the overwhelming unmet needs of abused and neglected children, children and adolescents in foster care, and those with serious emotional problems. Its requests for level funding for most programs ignore the growing demands that these children and families are placing on existing service systems.

President Reagan's budget proposes to:

- Include no funding for the $45 million independent living program designed to assist older youths in foster care to become self-sufficient when they leave care. The Administration fails to recommend reauthorization of this entitlement program, which was added in 1986 to the Title IV-E Foster Care Program to help youths who leave foster care and who have no families to which they can return avoid ending up homeless or dependent on other public systems. As a rationale, the Administration erroneously asserts that independent living activities currently underway in all states can be supported through existing social services grant programs—with funds that are already insufficient to meet current demands for services.

- Freeze funding for the Child Welfare Services Program at its FY 1988 level of $239.4 million. These program funds are critical to states' efforts to preserve families and to work toward the reunification of families whose children have been placed in foster care. The Administration also fails to request funding for a much-needed 1987 initiative to assist in providing appropriate supports and (where necessary) foster care placements for infants with AIDS or other special problems who have been abandoned in hospitals.

- Maintain in FY 1989 the Title XX Social Services Block Grant at its FY 1988 funding level of $2.7 billion. Although Congress approved an additional $50 million for the program for FY 1988, it has not appropriated that money and the Department of Health and Human Services does not propose that the new funding be included in a FY 1988 Supplemental Appropriation. The $2.7 billion level for this major funding source for state and local child protective service programs and staff is more than $1 billion less than its FY 1981 funding level in inflation-adjusted dollars, although almost every state has experienced an increase in reports of abuse and neglect during this period. Similarly, the request for level funding for FY 1989 for the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment state grant program ($11.5 million), the Child Abuse Challenge Grant Program ($4.8 million), and the Family Violence Prevention and Services Programs ($8.1 million) will do nothing to account for inflation or to address the significant increase in demands on protective service agencies.
- Maintain funds for the federal Foster Care Program only at the FY 1988 current services level, even though the Administration projects a slight increase in the average monthly number of children to be served by the program.
- Increase funding for the federal Adoption Assistance Program (from $108 million to $133.9 million) to allow additional special needs children to be assisted under the program.
- Seek a generic appropriation of $76.7 million for a series of human service research, training, and demonstration activities, including those that assist abused and neglected children, children who are awaiting adoptive families, and children and families in need of other child welfare services. The Administration assumes for the purposes of its request that the FY 1988 funding levels are maintained for the Child Abuse and Neglect Discretionary Program ($13.3 million), Child Welfare Training Program ($3.7 million), and Adoption Opportunities Program ($4.8 million), and adds $5 million to the Child Welfare Research and Demonstration Program to cover activities currently funded by the Temporary Child Care and Crisis Nurseries Program ($16 million). However, the Administration appears to be requesting discretion to allocate funding among the specific programs as it chooses.
- Make a modest increase in the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant to $509 million from its FY 1988 level of $487.3 million. This level, however, still represents only 57 percent of the program's FY 1981 funding level in real dollars. An increase in funding for the Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP) from its FY 1988 level of $7.4 million to $10 million will enable some additional states to mount efforts to coordinate services for youths with serious emotional problems in the mental health, child welfare, and juvenile justice systems, and will enable new initiatives on behalf of homeless children and adolescents, as well.

CDF Recommendations

In order to address appropriately the multiple needs of the millions of children who are abused and neglected, who are in foster care, who have serious emotional problems, or who have multiple needs, and to adequately support their families, actions are needed at different levels and across various systems.

First, we could prevent many of these problems by making necessary investments to assure that families and children obtain adequate food, shelter, health care, education, and employment help.

At the same time, specific actions must be taken to establish a service system that can respond appropriately to the individual needs of children and families, regardless of the label assigned to them by particular public agencies. Our long-term goal should be to develop a single system that serves vulnerable children and adolescents and has the capacity to assess, mobilize, and utilize all of the various resources necessary to meet their multiple needs.

A crucial part of such a system will be staffs that are appropriately qualified, trained, and compensated. Personnel must have available a system for fully assessing the varied needs of youths who need help and a continuum of services and other resources that can meet flexibly the individual needs of children as they are identified.

Such a system of care should adhere to the following principles:

- Each child should receive a full developmental assessment that identifies his or her strengths and needs.
- Services should be provided to the child and family in their own home, if possible, or in the least restrictive and most family-like setting appropriate to the child's needs.
- The family should be involved fully in all services provided to the child.
- Children should have access to a continuum of services, nonresidential and residential (including, at a minimum, early intervention, a variety of in-home services, respite care, foster family homes, therapeutic group homes, and residential treatment programs), that affords them the flexibility to move easily from more restrictive to less restrictive settings.
- A case advocate or case manager should be available to help the child and family negotiate the various systems that provide services and to ensure the provision of appropriate care.
- For children for whom out-of-home care is necessary, timely efforts should be made either to reunify them with their families or, where that is not possible, to place them with new permanent families through adoption. All youths, especially those in care who will not return to families or be adopted, should get special help during their early teen years and beyond to assist them in the transition to independent living and prepare them for future self-sufficiency.
- All parties involved in the receipt of services should be assured of basic protections. At a minimum, these should include case plans, periodic reviews, and due process protections, such as the right of a family to participate, with representation, when important decisions relating to its child's future are being made.

A comprehensive system of services should incorporate the full range of intensive home-based service programs, specialized out-of-home care programs, and programs designed to help vulnerable youths make a successful transition to adulthood. Such programs already have been implemented successfully in numerous communities.

As we work toward an improved comprehensive system, our nation must take immediate action to address the urgent needs of vulnerable children. First, the federal government must increase its investment in programs helping abused and neglected children and their families: the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Program, Family Violence Prevention and Services Program, and Child Abuse Challenge Grants.

Second, funds for the Child Welfare Services Program, federal Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs, and the Adoption Opportunities Program must all be increased to meet adequately the needs of children in foster care or in danger of entering such care. The federal independent living initiative designed to help older youths in foster care also must be continued and expanded to benefit a larger proportion of these at-risk youths.

Finally, significantly more resources must be directed to the special needs of seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents and their families. A doubling of funding for the Child and Adolescent Service System Program in FY 1989 would allow more than ten additional states to receive grants. Overall funding for the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant should be restored at least to its FY 1981 funding level, and a set-aside established specifically for services for disturbed children and adolescents.

Children With Special Needs: Funding and Budget Requests, FY 1981-FY 1989

(in millions of dollars)

	SSBG/ Title XX	Child Welfare Services	Child Welfare Training	Child Welfare Research	Foster Care	Independent Living	Adoption Assistance	Adoption Opportunities
FY 1981 actual	$2,991.8	$163.0	$5.2	$11.0	$327.8	—	$5.0	$5.0
FY 1982 proposed	—[1]	—[1]	—[1]	—[2]	—[1]	—	—[1]	—[2]
FY 1982 actual	2,460.0	156.3	3.8	11.0	321.6	—	5.0	1.9
FY 1983 proposed	1,974.1	—[3]	—[3]	—[4]	—[3]	—	—[3]	—[4]
FY 1983 actual	2,456.0	156.3	3.8	10.3	395.0	—	5.0	1.9
FY 1984 proposed	2,560.0	156.0	—[5]	—[6]	440.0	—	5.0	—[6]
FY 1984 actual	2,700.0	165.0	2.6	9.5	478.5	—	5.0	1.9
FY 1985 proposed	2,700.0	168.8	—[7]	—[8]	460.0	—	12.8	—[8]
FY 1985 actual	2,725.0	200.0	3.8	11.8	517.2	—	35.4	2.0
FY 1986 proposed	2,700.0	200.0	3.8	8.4	485.0	—	41.9	1.4
FY 1986 actual	2,700.0	207.0	3.8	11.8	507.6	—	41.9	5.0
After Gramm-Rudman	2,583.9	198.1	3.7	11.2[9]	—[10]	—	—[10]	4.8[11]
FY 1987 proposed	2,700.0	200.0	3.8	6.0[12]	544.3	—	59.9	1.4
FY 1987 actual	2,700.0	222.5[13]	3.8	11.3	592.0[14]	$45.0[15]	59.9[14]	5.0
FY 1988 proposed	2,700.0	—[16]	—[16]	—[16]	585.0	0.0[17]	97.0	—[16]
FY 1988 actual	2,750.0[18]	239.4	3.7	10.9	703.2	45.0	108.0	4.8
FY 1989 proposed	2,700.0	239.4	3.7[19]	16.0[19]	832.0[20]	0.0	133.9	4.8[19]

	Child Abuse State Grants	Child Abuse Discretionary Grants	Child Abuse Challenge Grants	Family Violence Prevention and Services	Child and Adolescent Service System Program	Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant	Temporary Child Care and Crisis Nurseries Grants
FY 1981 actual	$6.9	$16.1	—	—	—	$691.0	—
FY 1982 proposed	—[1]	—[2]	—	—	—	—[21]	—
FY 1982 actual	6.7	9.5	—	—	—	428.0	—
FY 1983 proposed	4.6	—[4]	—	—	—	432.0	—
FY 1983 actual	6.7	9.5	—	—	—	439.0	—
FY 1984 proposed	6.7	—[6]	—	—	—	439.0	—
FY 1984 actual	6.7	9.5	—	—	$1.5	462.0	—
FY 1985 proposed	7.0	—[8]	—	—	0.0	472.3	—
FY 1985 actual	9.0	17.0	—	—	3.9	490.0	—
FY 1986 proposed	12.0	10.0	—	—	0.0	490.0	—
FY 1986 actual	12.0	14.0	$5.0[22]	$8.5	4.5[23]	490.0	—
After Gramm-Rudman	11.4[24]	13.3[9]	5.0[25]	8.4[26]	4.0[23]	468.9	—
FY 1987 proposed	—[27]	—[27]	0.0	—[12]	0.0	490.0	—
FY 1987 actual	12.0	13.9	5.0	8.5	4.7	495.0	—
FY 1988 proposed	—[16]	—[16]	—[16]	—[16]	4.7[28]	495.0	—
FY 1988 actual	11.5	13.3	4.8	8.1	7.4	487.3	$4.8
FY 1989 proposed	11.5	13.3[19]	4.8	8.1	10.0	509.0	0.0[29]

[1] Proposed to consolidate in a $3.8 billion Social Services Block Grant for FY 1982; this is 25 percent below the FY 1981 funding level for the programs proposed to be included in the block grant.

[2] Proposed to consolidate in a $63 million social services discretionary fund for FY 1982; this is $23 million, or 27 percent, below the FY 1981 funding level for the programs proposed to be consolidated.

[3] Proposed to consolidate in a Child Welfare Block Grant for FY 1983, with a 23 percent cut in funding from FY 1982.

[4] Proposed to consolidate in a $31 million fund for human resources research and demonstration activities, with funding to be at the same level as in FY 1982.

[5] Proposed to combine with Child Welfare Services for FY 1984, with funding to be cut by 2.4 percent from FY 1983 levels.

[6] Proposed to consolidate in a $9 million fund for human resources research and demonstration activities, with funding $13 million, or 59 percent, below the FY 1983 funding level for the programs to be consolidated.

[7] Proposed to combine with Child Welfare Services, with funding to remain at the same level as in FY 1984.

[8] Proposed to be consolidated in a $4 million human resources research and development fund for FY 1985, with funding $17 million, or 81 percent, below the FY 1984 funding level for the programs to be consolidated.

[9] Proposed rescission of $3.3 million over the post-Gramm-Rudman FY 1986 level.

[10] These programs received special treatment under Gramm-Rudman. Expenditures attributable to a foster care or adoption assistance rate increase that took effect between October 1, 1985 and September 30, 1986 were not eligible for federal reimbursement.

[11] Proposed rescission of $3.4 million over the post-Gramm-Rudman FY 1986 level.

[12] In addition, a Social Services Research Program funded at $2.4 million was proposed for FY 1986; it would support cross-cutting research.

[13] Proposed to reprogram $22.5 million of this FY 1987 amount for the Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs.

[14] The Administration also proposed a FY 1987 supplemental appropriation of $97.7 million for the Title IV-E Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs, part of which will be derived from unobligated balances for the Social Services Block Grant ($43.6 million) and aging research funds ($11.1 million). In addition, the Administration proposed to reprogram $67.5 million for the Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs from the Child Welfare Services and Independent Living Programs. The proposed supplemental and reprogrammings will provide $127.2 million for foster care prior year claims and $38 million for adoption assistance current and prior year claims.

[15] Proposed to reprogram this amount for FY 1987 for the Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs, thereby eliminating for FY 1987 the Independent Living Program established by Congress for FY 1987 and FY 1988 as part of the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985.

[16] No specific amounts were requested for FY 1988 for these programs. Rather, they were among the twenty-six Office of Human Development Services programs for which a "generic appropriation" of $2.2 billion was requested for FY 1988. The $2.2 billion level is $69 million below the combined FY 1987 appropriation levels for the twenty-six programs and included a $20 million increase for Head Start.

[17] Proposed to repeal the legislative authority for this program in FY 1988.

[18] An additional $50 million was contained in the reconciliation bill but not the continuing resolution passed in 1987. The sum should be available to states during FY 1988.

[19] The FY 1989 request consolidates many Office of Human Development Services' discretionary research, training, and demonstration grant programs. Among them are these children's programs as well as research and training projects in the areas of aging and developmental disabilities. Although the individual programs are included in the consolidated program at their FY 1988 levels, the Administration appears to be requesting permission to allocate funding among these specific programs as it chooses.

[20] The FY 1989 budget also includes an additional $109 million to pay state claims for foster care expenditures prior to 1987.

[21] The programs eventually included in the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant were originally proposed for inclusion in the Health Services Block Grant, to be funded at $1.1 billion for FY 1982.

[22] $5 million approved as part of FY 1985 Supplemental Appropriations Bill, but it was not obligated in FY 1985 and was carried over to FY 1986.

[23] The FY 1986 appropriation for the Community Support Program and CASSP was increased from $10.5 million to $12.5 million. The projected increase for CASSP was expected to be about $600,000; however, a FY 1986 rescission of $11.0 million over the post-Gramm-Rudman FY 1986 level was proposed.

[24] Proposed rescission of $3.3 million over the post-Gramm-Rudman FY 1986 level.

[25] Proposed to be rescinded for FY 1986.

[26] Includes $6 million approved as part of FY 1985 Supplemental Appropriations Bill that was not obligated in FY 1985 and was carried over to FY 1986.

[27] Proposed to consolidate in a new $30.5 million program of Family Crisis and Protective Service Grants for States for FY 1987; this was 7.3 percent below the anticipated post-Gramm-Rudman FY 1986 funding levels for the Child Abuse State Grants and Discretionary Programs and the Family Violence Prevention and Services Program.

[28] The FY 1988 request for the Community Support Program, of which CASSP is a part, included a $5 million increase over FY 1987. However, because the increase was described as being for demonstrations of community-based care for the homeless mentally ill, it is assumed funding for CASSP was intended to remain at its FY 1987 level.

[29] Proposed to eliminate this program for FY 1989 rather than request its reauthorization. The Administration claims, however, to have added $5 million to the Child Welfare Research and Demonstration Program for similar activities.

RUNAWAY YOUTHS AND OTHERS IN THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

> Stephanie was thirteen and in the sixth grade when she showed up for the third time at the local runaway shelter in a midwestern city. She had fled from the fighting at home between her mother and her mother's new boyfriend, and from the sexual advances of a stepbrother. At a much earlier age, she had been in foster care after her mother beat her while in a drunken rage. When she sought help this time, Stephanie said she had not been to school for a couple of weeks. Returning home again no longer seemed the best plan and the shelter staff sought to work out a more stable placement.
>
> Tyrone, age fifteen, spent seven months in a detention center in a northeastern state for a series of burglaries and a car theft. It was his second arrest. Before being sent away, Tyrone had been truant, angry, and out of control. The foster parents with whom he had lived since he was eight were very worried both about him and the safety of their other children, but couldn't seem to get help. Tyrone's mother was a heroin addict who had suddenly left her two boys with a neighbor and disappeared. Tyrone held out hope that she would one day return.

The stories of Stephanie and Tyrone illustrate the limitations of the various labels that public systems attach to youths in their care. Although Stephanie is labeled a "runaway youth" and Tyrone would be referred to formally as an "adjudicated youth," their needs are similar to those of children described as "abused," "neglected," "dependent," or "emotionally disturbed"—youths described in the preceding chapter. Yet an arbitrary label frequently determines which public system a child is in, what services will or will not be available, and what the public's level of concern about the child's problem will be. Limited and arbitrary as they are, labels like those carried by Stephanie and

Tyrone can result unfairly in a perception of them simply as "bad" youths who deserve only blame and punishment for their problems.

The reality is far more complex. A 1987 study prepared for the Ohio Department of Human Services looked at Ohio children living away from their parents under the supervision of state and local public agencies and found that two-fifths of the children assigned to the care of a human services, youth services, mental health, or mental retardation/developmental disability agency had problems that overlapped among departments. The assignment of children with multiple problems to the care of specific departments appeared haphazard. In the cases of nine out of ten of the children in placement, difficulties existed with both the child and his or her family.

Children and adolescents who run away from home or from foster care placements, or end up in the custody of juvenile justice agencies, often have been failed by other public systems earlier in their lives. Many are victims of abuse and neglect; some have had bad experiences in foster care and others have serious emotional problems for which they have received no help. Frequently the outcomes they face today could have been prevented had adequate resources been invested in meeting their needs when problems first appeared, while there was still time to set them on a better track.

Runaway and Homeless Youths

The common estimate is that 1.2 million to 1.5 million children and adolescents, ages ten through seventeen, run away from home each year in the United States. The real number of youths running away may be much higher, because many do not come to the attention of public agencies and thus never are counted.

Many of these youths are running away from seriously troubled homes. It is estimated that upwards of one-third are running from physical or sexual abuse, and 40 percent from other family problems such as parental alcoholism or marital conflict. Among youths at a runaway shelter in Ohio, 75 percent indicated that they had been victims of serious physical maltreatment. In a survey of 200 homeless teens served by a Boston shelter, two-thirds were victims of parental abuse.

The National Network of Runaway and Youth Services, an organization of approximately 1,000 community-based youth-serving agencies, reported in 1985 that 60 percent of the 300 shelter programs surveyed had seen a higher proportion of youths with multiple problems than before. At that time almost half of the youths served had suffered prior abuse or neglect, needed specialized treatment, or had been involved with the juvenile justice system. Shelters in every state reported seeing youths with more severe mental health problems. Preliminary results from a recent update of that survey confirm the earlier findings, reporting that 61 percent of the youths served have been sexually or physically abused.

Federally funded shelters saw an increase between 1978 and 1985 not only in the number of youths who have more serious problems, but also in the number who had been in the care of other human service systems, according to an analysis by Eric Masi, executive director of Wayside Community Programs, Inc., of data collected by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Some of these "system youths," as they are sometimes called, have been in contact with the child protective service systems or resided in foster care, mental health system facilities, or juvenile justice facilities.

Although most of the teenagers who run return home within a short period, their family and personal problems often are left unaddressed. And a growing minority of youths cannot go home: in FY 1985 one-third of the youths receiving federally supported residential services were defined as homeless. Some of them have been pushed out by their families, while others have left through mutual agreement because of limited economic or emotional resources in the home. In a study of homeless families in Los Angeles conducted by the Homeless Families Project at the University of Southern California, mothers who had been homeless teens reported histories of abuse and failed foster placements, little education, no work experience, and no families to which they could turn.

Another group of homeless adolescents are those separated from their families—sometimes by social service agency rules—when their families have lost their place to live. The U.S. Conference of Mayors' May 1987 "Status Report on Homeless Families in America's Cities" reported that in two-thirds of the twenty-nine surveyed cities some families must break up in order to be accommodated in shelters. Boston reported that many of its family shelters do not accept males older than twelve. Providence, Rhode Island, has no shelters for victims of domestic violence that accept boys older than thirteen. While teens often are considered too old to stay in shelters for homeless families, they often are not old enough for shelters for homeless adults.

Youths who run away from home also are burdened by serious additional problems. Some are seeking to escape a history of school failure. Some have drug problems or serious emotional disturbances. A 1984 study of adolescents in youth shelters in New York City reported that almost half actively had contemplated or attempted suicide and that 30 percent were categorized as depressed. Seventy-one percent of the boys and 44 percent of the girls reported that they had been suspended from school before they became runaways. In a 1987 survey of 150 shelter programs by the National Network of Runaway and Youth Services, 59 percent of the youths were reported as having had school problems.

These youths face intensified problems and new risks as a result of being on the run. They are very vulnerable to crime. Some may be enticed or coerced into prostitution. Particularly in large urban areas, these teens are in increased danger of a newer and deadly risk—contracting the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) virus, primarily through sharing needles during intravenous drug use or unprotected sexual activity. Like out-of-school youths, homeless young people are less likely to receive accurate information about the dangers of AIDS and how to protect themselves. Fear, anger, depression, and hopelessness often deter them from utilizing such information if they do get it. They are also more likely to lack access to necessary health services.

Youths in the Juvenile Justice System

A varied group of youths, including some runaways and other youths who have committed acts that are not crimes when committed by adults (such as truancy, incorrigibility, or promiscuity), are labeled as status offenders. On February 1, 1985, 2,293 status offenders were in public juvenile correctional facilities, about evenly divided between young men and women, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census' 1985 Census of Public Juvenile Detention, Correctional, and Shelter Facilities.

Another group—including more than 90 percent of the total 49,322 youths in public juvenile correctional facilities on February 1, 1985—were youths accused of or found to have committed delinquent offenses—acts by juveniles that generally are criminal offenses when committed by adults. Almost three-quarters of these youths, however, had committed property, alcohol, drug, or public order offenses, or probation violations or other acts that did not involve violence. Eighty-two percent of the youths detained or committed for delinquent or status offenses were housed in institutional rather than community-based care.

An additional group—juveniles housed in privately run detention facilities—numbered 34,000 on that same single day in 1985.

Other troubled youths who face serious risks to their health and safety are those confined to adult jails or temporary holding facilities, usually referred to as "lock-ups." It is estimated that more than 100,000 young people (some estimate as many as 400,000) pass through jails and lock-ups each year. Many lock-ups are in terrible condition, lack trained detention staff, and provide no special programs designed for troubled youths. During their stays in such facilities, even for short periods, youths are at great risk. It is estimated that the suicide rate for juveniles held in adult jails is as much as nine times the rate of those held in secure juvenile detention facilities, with the risk of suicide at its peak during a youth's first twenty-four hours of incarceration.

Like runaway and homeless youths, young people who come in contact with the formal juvenile justice system often have histories of abuse and neglect or serious emotional problems. Judges polled in a recent national survey conducted by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges cited abuse as a key factor in at least 70 percent of the cases they deal with, including those involving delinquency. Studies of juveniles involved in delinquent acts consistently have found that they have endured child abuse and neglect at greater rates than either members of the general population or low-income Americans.

- A study by Dorothy Otnow Lewis and others published in 1987 in the *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* reported that the delinquent teenagers studied were significantly more likely than other youths of similar socioeconomic status to suffer neurological impairment, evidence cognitive dysfunction, have severe psychiatric symptoms, and have histories of physical abuse and family violence. Studies of small groups of delinquent youths in Ohio, Arkansas, New York, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Oregon echo these results.
- A detailed look at youths admitted to the Youth Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections between FY 1983 and FY 1986 indicated that a significant percentage of these young people had complex problems. In FY 1986, 80 percent of the youths had had prior involvement with other state or local youth agencies. An estimated 79 percent of the 1,274 youths admitted were from ~~families in~~ stress, 71 percent had mental health problems requiring counseling or special placement at the time of admission, and 29 percent had experienced child abuse or neglect.
- The New York State Senate Committee on Mental Hygiene's November 1987 report, *Pay Now. . .or Pay Later: A Look at Mental Health Services for Children in New York,* indicated that there were children in juvenile detention in New York State who had been waiting more than a year for placement in a mental health facility. Among them were youths whose earlier unmet needs for mental health care had resulted in their later contact with the juvenile justice system.

Children in detention also tend to be significantly behind their peers academically.

- Among a sample of the youths (whose ages averaged fifteen and a half) detained at Spofford Juvenile Center in New York City, 75 percent read below the seventh-grade level and 80 percent had math skills below that level. Thirty-two percent read below the third-grade level.
- *Children in Out-of-Home Care,* a June 1987 study of all Ohio children living in placements under the auspices of public agencies, reported that more than half of the school-age children were performing below grade level in both reading and mathematics. Among those in the care of the youth services and mental health systems or the juvenile courts, generally an older group, the percentage performing below grade level was even higher, ranging from 73 percent to 89 percent.

Federal Programs Have Served as a Catalyst for Reforms for Troubled Youths

For more than a decade, federal programs targeted on troubled youths have accomplished impressive results with very limited resources.

The Runaway Youth Act was enacted in 1974 as Title III of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. In 1980 the Act was expanded to begin to address the needs of homeless youths as well, and was renamed the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act. Even with modest funding ($11 million per year until FY 1982 and approximately double that amount in more recent years), the Act has provided significant assistance to local communities in meeting the needs of runaway and homeless youths and their families. It has enabled local and state centers to expand services and develop new resources, and it has spawned research on and testing of innovative approaches designed to address the unmet needs of these vulnerable youths.

In FY 1987, 307 centers were funded under the program through the Act's $23.2 million appropriation. In FY 1987 these centers served an estimated 340,000 youths: 85,000 received shelter and ongoing services while 255,000 more were served on a drop-in basis.

All federally funded centers provide shelter and both individual and family counseling. They also develop plans for follow-up after young people leave. Many provide a range of supportive services, including recreational and educational services, transportation, and assistance in finding alternative living arrangements. The centers have met with success in resolving a number of youths' difficulties, such as problems in school, with the courts, in attaining a job, and in deciding where to live. In FY 1987 approximately 53 percent of the youths they sheltered returned home, while another 37 percent went on to other stable situations such as with relatives or friends, in foster or group homes, or in independent living programs.

The Act funds another important lifeline for troubled teens: the National Runaway Switchboard. In its ten years of operation, the Switchboard has helped more than 2 million young callers, linking them with community resources, putting them in touch with their families, and providing crisis counseling. One measure of the urgent need for this service is a new duty it has assumed since June 1985: it has handled an additional 2,300 suicide-related calls each month through its Adolescent Suicide Hotline.

Youths in the juvenile justice system have been given some basic protections due to other parts of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act's parent legislation, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. The broader Act has helped to begin to bring about the reform of juvenile justice systems across the United States. Its original goal was to make prevention of delinquency, the creation of alternatives to institutionalization, and diversion from the courts the linchpins of a juvenile justice reform strategy. A further goal, the separation of juveniles from adults within jails and their eventual removal from adult jails, was added in 1980.

The Act has helped bring about a major reduction in the confinement of juveniles in training schools and other secure facilities. Increasing numbers of advocates and public officials now recognize the value of responsive, individualized, community-based care for youths and their families. As a result, thousands of youths have been removed from secure juvenile detention facilities and adult jails, although a great deal remains to be accomplished in this area. The Act also has shown states that shifting the emphasis away from large congregate care juvenile institutions can save money.

- The Jail Removal Initiative funded through the Act provided technical assistance and support to twenty-three multi-county projects between 1981 and 1984 in their efforts to remove juveniles from adult jails and lock-ups. The initiative resulted in an average decrease of two-thirds in the jailing of young people across all sites and the total elimination of jailing in eight sites. The experience of communities that developed nonsecure alternatives to jail settings shows that such new efforts are generally two to three times less expensive than secure alternatives.
- A number of state legislatures have acted to prohibit or restrict significantly the incarceration of juveniles in adult jails and lock-ups. About fifteen states now have such laws, including California, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee, and Virginia. California, for example, had more than 99,000 minors in jails and lock-ups as of 1982, but now prohibits the detention of minors in adult jails and lock-ups, with only narrow exceptions. Federal leadership has been bolstered in many states by litigation challenging the conditions in jails and lock-ups—some of which was spurred by the deaths or other gross mistreatment of young people who wrongfully had been placed in jails.

Federal funding under the Act has enabled states to leverage state resources for the development of less restrictive community-based programs for youths, and to establish youth services boards or commissions that can help stimulate juvenile justice reforms. In the majority of states, successful programs seeded by federal funds have attracted growing amounts of state and local support. Further, the Act's research and demonstration funding has enabled both public and private sector groups to test innovative approaches to improving service systems for youths.

- Juvenile justice funds have been used to develop non-institutional alternatives to jails in more than twenty states. These include group homes, foster homes, programs that provide intensive community supervision and support to youths living at home, and in-home detention programs that restrict the youths' movement in the community. In Iowa, for example, grants have helped implement in-home detention—a cost-effective alternative to jailing—in eighty-five of ninety-nine counties. Federal funds have enabled Iowa to start or improve most of its fifteen youth shelter care programs, which provide needs assessments, family reunification services, and placement preparation.

- With Juvenile Justice Act support, COSSMHO (the National Coalition of Hispanic Health and Human Services Organizations) has assisted Hispanic community-based organizations in twelve cities to develop and conduct juvenile delinquency prevention programs. By linking up with schools and juvenile justice agencies and social services providers, the programs provide prevention, intervention, and treatment programs for abused, neglected, and runaway Hispanic youths and their families.

The Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP), initiated in 1984 to improve the delivery of services to seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents, also has stimulated increased recognition of the value of improving services for these youths in the juvenile justice system.

- The New Jersey CASSP has advocated training for family court judges regarding juveniles' mental health needs, a residential treatment program for youths in detention who are at risk of hospitalization, and mental health outreach to staff and youths in detention centers. The Maine CASSP has facilitated training on adolescent mental health for law enforcement officers and state detention facility staff. It also has completed a case-by-case analysis of 600 children and adolescents in the juvenile justice system.

The Shortfall in Resources Denies Services to Many Youths and Threatens to Create Larger Long-Term Costs

Despite the progress spurred by these federal initiatives, much more still must be done to help troubled young people. Stronger federal leadership and expanded resources are needed if advocates, concerned public officials, and program providers are to address adequately the remaining unmet needs of troubled youths and win support for a treatment-oriented, community-based model of juvenile corrections. Existing programs fall far short both in their breadth (the numbers of young people served) and depth (their capability to address youths' complex problems).

Runaway and Homeless Youths

Shelters for runaways report turning away thousands of youths because no space is available or they are unable to meet the runaways' needs. Many other young people never make it to the shelters or have no place to go when they must leave.

- Nationally, shelters for runaway youths are estimated to serve only about one-fifth of those needing services. Most shelters have limited numbers of beds and can house youths for no longer than two weeks.
- A regional network of youth services programs in Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas (called MINK) that is funded by the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act had to turn away 139 youths in an average month in 1986, while sheltering 387. Besides more space and beds, these programs need funds to provide counseling for sexual abuse victims as well as drug treatment and vocational and education programs.
- In Los Angeles, where estimates of the number of homeless teens on the streets are as high as 10,000, there are fewer than seventy-five shelter beds for them. In FY 1987 approximately 3,500 youths requesting shelter services were turned away due to lack of space.

- A 1986 study of runaway and homeless youths in the District of Columbia estimated that 2,300 youths who had run from home or were homeless were provided no services.
- A 1985 report by the Governor's Task Force on Homeless Youth in Illinois indicated that there were then 21,000 homeless youths younger than twenty-one in that state, of whom only about one-fifth had ever sought help from youth-serving agencies.

Youths in the Juvenile Justice System

In a number of states, many youths in the care of juvenile justice agencies still are inappropriately served. They continue to be placed in overly restrictive settings, as resources for community-based alternatives are cut back. Severe overcrowding in many training schools and detention centers has reduced opportunities for special education and treatment programs in those facilities and caused deterioration in basic living conditions.

- In 1985 the *Children in Custody* series prepared by the Bureau of Justice Statistics and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in the U.S. Department of Justice reported the highest number of children confined in public correctional facilities since the survey was begun in 1971. More than half of the total juveniles housed, including those awaiting sentencing, and 70 percent of the committed youths were in long-term institutional settings—primarily detention centers and training schools. The number of youths incarcerated on a given day has increased despite dropping admission rates, in part due to increases in youths' average lengths of stay stemming from tougher sentencing.
- As of February 1, 1985, almost two-thirds of the youths held in public juvenile facilities were in facilities with designated capacities of 100 or more, and more than half of this number were in overcrowded facilities. *Bodily Harm: The Pattern of Fear and Violence at the California Youth Authority*, a 1986 report by Steve Lerner, director of the Commonweal Research Institute, describes the harmful effects of institutional inmate violence on young people serving time in overcrowded and inadequate large physical plants. More than 2,000 violent incidents a year have been reported since 1982 at California Youth Authority facilities, involving 25 to 30 percent of the population. In 1986 the facilities' census exceeded designed capacity by more than one-third. Even the best educational, vocational, and counseling programs designed to address residents' special needs often cannot compensate for the intense pressures resulting from such overcrowding.
- Reports of incidents of mistreatment of juveniles in institutions are on the upswing in a number of states. Litigation in California, Oregon, Florida, and the District of Columbia has documented problems such as unsafe and unsanitary facilities, the inappropriate use of isolation and physical restraints, lack of adequate education, and the lack of appropriate legal representation for confined youths.
- As of December 1987 twenty states were out of compliance or predicted to be out of compliance with the federal deadline for removal of children from adult jails and lock-ups, according to the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. These states have not yet achieved even a 75 percent reduction in such juvenile jailings.

- In some states the Act's mandate for deinstitutionalization of status offenders is being circumvented by a loophole placed in the policies by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. The Office's rules permit the "staff secure" confinement of chronic runaways and other "at-risk" status offenders, allowing the use of staff (rather than bars and locked doors and windows) to restrict the movements of these non-delinquent youths.

The bias toward institutional care and more restrictive settings continues, despite evidence that the establishment of community-based alternatives can meet the needs of large numbers of youths more effectively. In many cases this is because the youths' need for community-based treatment and rehabilitation approaches is eclipsed by mounting public pressure for more punitive approaches—pressure that results in part from a heightened fear of crime. There is documentation, however, that these conflicting concerns can be addressed by developing a comprehensive approach to juvenile offenders.

- Utah has achieved positive results by reducing the number of its secure beds from 350 to seventy, developing a careful assessment system for youths referred for detention, and establishing a range of in-home and well-structured community programs. An evaluation of Utah's reforms by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency reported substantial declines in repeat offenses by serious offenders who were placed in well-structured community programs. Seventy-five percent of the seriously delinquent youths diverted from secure confinement were crime-free for at least one year after leaving youth corrections custody, a far higher rate than for those not diverted.
- Massachusetts, with a much longer history of deinstitutionalization, has been able to hold its secure detention capacity at about 125 for youths found to be sufficiently dangerous or violent to need such care. Approximately two-thirds of the youths under the jurisdiction of that state's Department of Youth Services reside at home, some benefiting from a range of individually designed in-home programs.

Another major problem chronically plagues the juvenile justice system: the disparate treatment of minority youths. They are confined in numbers that far exceed both their relative proportions in the general population and their share of responsibility for criminal activity. The numbers of incarcerated minority youths increased by 26 percent between 1977 and 1983, even as arrests of such youths declined. Research by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency and the Center for the Study of Youth Policy indicates that although minority youths do not account for a substantially disproportionate amount of serious juvenile crime, they are more likely than their white peers to be arrested, to be charged with more serious crimes, and to be housed in the most secure facilities.

Weakened Federal Support Threatens Existing Services

Far from increasing the federal commitment to meet the increasing challenges posed by troubled youths, the Reagan Administration has tried to move in the opposite direction. It repeatedly has attempted to cut funding for the Runaway and Homeless Youth and Juvenile Justice Act programs, as well as other programs that offer preventive strategies and supports for at-risk youths.

Due in part to Administration opposition, the Runaway and Homeless

Youth program has lost ground to burgeoning need in recent years. Having survived several Administration attempts to combine its funding with other service programs, it was funded at $23.2 million from FY 1984 through FY 1987. While FY 1988 funding will rise to $26.1 million, that amount actually only keeps the program at its 1984 level in real dollars. This funding pattern and the desire of some HHS staff to spread the money more thinly has resulted in unreliable or reduced support for programs in more than thirty states. HHS often has opened new centers at the expense of pre-existing ones, which then were forced to limit services. From FY 1984 through FY 1987, the number of federally supported centers grew from 265 to 307, with no additional funding to underwrite these new efforts.

Another reason the needs of runaway and homeless youths have gone unmet is the Administration's lack of support for other programs—such as the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, the Title IV-E Independent Living Program, the Title IV-B Child Welfare Services Program, and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program—designed to improve services and supports for youths in foster care and youths with serious emotional problems. (See Abused and Neglected Children chapter.) Although Congress has beaten back most of the Administration's attacks on these programs, such clear evidence of indifference at the federal level to the needs of youths has a chilling effect on state implementation of positive initiatives. Congress' recent slashing by almost one-half of another key effort—the alcohol and drug abuse prevention and treatment demonstration projects aimed at high-risk youths—also will limit seriously any new programs in this area.

The most extreme example of the Administration's uncaring attitude has been its repeated attempts since 1981 to eliminate all funding for the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act program. The Administration consistently has given as a justification the untrue assertion that the Act no longer is needed because its goals have been met. This assertion has been challenged repeatedly by evidence from the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, the National Governors' Association, and the National Association of Counties, from youth advocates, service providers, researchers and public officials, and from the National Association of State Advisory Groups appointed by the states to oversee the Act's implementation.

While Congress maintained the program's funding each year in the FY 1982 to FY 1987 period at roughly $70 million—a 30 percent drop from 1981—only $66.6 million will be available for the program in FY 1988. Of this, $3 million must be used for grants that encourage jail removal efforts in states that are not yet in compliance with this mandate. Both the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act and the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act must be reauthorized by Congress prior to October 1, 1988, a process that will provide an opportunity to review their strengths, pinpoint remaining unmet needs, and build renewed commitment to their goals, especially in the area of prevention.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

Ignoring the need for an increased federal commitment to help localities serve troubled children and adolescents, President Reagan's FY 1989 budget once again proposes to reduce crucial federal investments on their behalf. The Administration again has rejected the pleas of congressional leaders from both parties, state and local agency officials, juvenile court judges, program providers, and youth advocates:

- For the eighth year in a row, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program, funded at $68.6 million in FY 1988, is recommended for elimination. In its budget document the Justice Department continues to assert that "the major thrusts of the grant program—the deinstitutionalization of status offenders and separation of juvenile offenders—have been achieved to the extent practicable." Yet the department itself found that about half the states had not even achieved significant (75 percent) compliance with the program's jail removal mandate by the end of 1987.
- The Runaway and Homeless Youth Program is proposed to be funded at its FY 1988 level of $26.1 million, which is about the same level (in real dollars) at which it has been funded since FY 1984. Such level funding will not allow federal shelters to serve more teens or to meet better their increasingly complex needs.
- The $45 million independent living program (enacted in 1986 to assist older youths in foster care become self-sufficient when they leave care) is not recommended for reauthorization beyond FY 1989. Yet without such transitional help, youths leaving foster care too frequently end up in homeless shelters or become the responsibility of other public systems.
- The plight of runaway and homeless youths and others in the juvenile justice system will be exacerbated further by the Administration's request to fund only at FY 1988 levels other programs that help many such youths—the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, the Title IV-B Child Welfare Services Program, and the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment and Child Abuse Challenge Grant Programs. Level funding for these programs in the face of inflation and intensified demands for services can only impede their attempts to address the special needs of troubled youths.

CDF Recommendations

The public policy choice is not whether to invest on behalf of troubled children and adolescents, but when and how. If their needs are not addressed early and preventively, many are likely to become the financial responsibility of the adult mental health or criminal justice systems.

Efforts at prevention of juvenile delinquency and other problems identified with troubled teens must begin with investments that enable all families to meet their children's needs better. The first investment must be in income supports, adequate health care, and child care. Improvements in the areas of remedial education and dropout prevention would help give youths both the competence in basic skills and the enhanced self-esteem they need to avoid getting into trouble. When crises do arise, youths and their families need help in dealing with them constructively.

When prevention fails, a comprehensive array of services must be in place to address the special physical, emotional, social, and educational needs of youths who do run away, end up on the streets, or otherwise get into trouble. Youths need safe places to go for help when problems at home force them to seek shelter elsewhere. Quality care and services must be available for all young people, regardless of their racial or ethnic background or ability to pay.

Attempts must be made to look beyond the labels that get attached to many of these youths and to address the flaws in social services systems that result in denying troubled young people careful assessments of their needs and the services that are necessary to meet them. A uniform intake process is needed. Case managers should help young people gain access to those aspects of a continuum of non-residential and residential programs that best meet their needs. In most cases services should be delivered within the child's home and community, and families should be involved whenever possible. Secure residential programs should provide both appropriate treatment for the small numbers of young people who need them and the opportunity for them to progress to alternative settings. While youths remain in secure settings, however, the appropriateness of the care they are receiving must be monitored regularly, and requirements for case planning and the delivery of treatment and educational services rigorously enforced.

Special transitional services also must be provided for troubled adolescents who leave community-based programs, detention facilities, or shelters and who lack supportive families or friends to whom they can return. To enhance youths' opportunities for future self-sufficiency, programs must offer training in daily living skills and finding housing and medical care, significant assistance in obtaining education credentials and job training, and help in coping with their emotional needs.

Our nation must design and develop a system of care that will serve troubled youths appropriately. While new federal incentives in that regard are explored, existing federal programs for troubled children and families must be reauthorized at increased funding levels. The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act, and the federal Independent Living Initiative for teens in foster care all must be extended beyond FY 1988. Expanded funding for the juvenile justice and runaway youth programs will help enhance preventive efforts and alternative community-based programs for troubled youths.

Meanwhile, our nation must increase its investment in other programs that help children before their problems become so intense that they run away or get in trouble. Increases in funding for the Social Services Block Grant, the Child Welfare Services Program, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Program, and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program will enhance preventive efforts to meet the special needs of vulnerable groups of children and adolescents.

Runaway Youths and Others in the Juvenile Justice System: Funding and Budget Requests, FY 1981-FY 1989
(in millions of dollars)

	Runaway Youths	Juvenile Delinquency Prevention
FY 1981 actual	$11.0	$100.0
FY 1982 proposed	—[1]	0.0
FY 1982 actual	10.5	70.0
FY 1983 proposed	6.6	0.0
FY 1983 actual	21.5	73.0
FY 1984 proposed	10.5	0.0
FY 1984 actual	23.2	70.5
FY 1985 proposed	10.5	0.0
FY 1985 actual	23.2	70.2
FY 1986 proposed	23.2	0.0
FY 1986 actual	23.2	70.2
After Gramm-Rudman	22.2	67.3[2]
FY 1987 proposed	23.2	0.0[2]
FY 1987 actual	23.2	70.3
FY 1988 proposed	—[3]	0.0
FY 1988 actual	26.1	68.6
FY 1989 proposed	26.1	0.0

[1] Proposed to consolidate in a $3.8 billion Social Services Block Grant for FY 1982; this was 25 percent below the FY 1981 funding level for the programs proposed to be included in the block grant.

[2] Also proposed rescission of $60.8 million from the post-Gramm-Rudman FY 1986 level.

[3] No specific amount was requested for FY 1988. Rather, the program was one of twenty-six Office of Human Development Services programs for which a "generic appropriation" of $2.2 billion was requested for FY 1988. The $2.2 billion level was $69 million below the combined FY 1987 appropriation levels for the twenty-six programs and included a $20 million increase for Head Start.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Black children are twice as likely as white children to die in the first year of life, to have mothers who received late or no prenatal care, to have no parent employed, and to be unemployed themselves in their teens. Hispanic children face many of the same disadvantages. Many of these racial disparities are due to the vicious cycle of discrimination and poverty: past and present discrimination in education, jobs, health care, public services, and housing keeps minorities in poverty, which in turn denies them the basic training, health care, and other benefits necessary to break this cycle.

Instead of fighting discrimination, the Reagan Administration throughout its tenure has mounted persistent efforts to stop any further civil rights advances proposed in Congress, to weaken the existing civil rights enforcement mechanisms of the federal government's Executive Branch, and to pursue aggressively an anti-civil rights agenda in the courts.

This shameful history repeated itself in 1987. The Administration that fought a strengthened Voting Rights Act in 1982 fought a strengthened fair housing law in 1987. The Administration that attacked the independence of the Civil Rights Commission in 1983, and then emasculated that Commission, continued to erode the effectiveness of other key civil rights enforcement agencies in 1987. The Administration that in 1985 appointed an attorney general who does not respect the primacy of Supreme Court decisions protecting civil rights in 1987 nominated to serve on that Court a man so hostile to those same rights that he was rejected by the U.S. Senate.

The Administration Is Standing in the Way of Stronger Civil Rights Laws

Over a long period of our nation's history, Congress has passed a series of laws directed at ensuring that certain basic civil rights are guaranteed to every citizen. These laws subsequently have been amended and other laws passed as necessary to meet changing conditions and to identify and redress additional forms of discrimination. Frequently, leaders of the Executive Branch have sponsored and worked hard on behalf of such efforts.

In a departure from this historic trend, the Reagan Administration consistently has lobbied Congress to oppose new civil rights legislation and improvements in older laws.

Most recently, the Administration's stalling tactics helped defeat prompt action in 1987 on key amendments to the federal fair housing law. These amendments were an attempt to remedy chronic problems in the enforcement of existing federal laws against discrimination in housing affecting minorities and women. The amendments also sought to extend the protection of fair housing law to two other important and frequently victimized groups: the handicapped and families with children. Recent data show that all of these groups now suffer widespread housing discrimination.

- A 1977 survey sponsored by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) of forty major housing markets showed that blacks encountered discrimination 72 percent of the time in the rental market and 48 percent of the time in the sales market. More recent studies of discrimination in various localities confirm these findings.
- Handicapped individuals face a severe shortage of accessible housing, a key barrier to independent living for handicapped adults and a factor contributing to the institutionalization of handicapped children.
- A 1980 HUD study of the problem of housing discrimination against families with children showed that more than 25 percent of rental units nationally exclude all children, while an additional 50 percent impose restrictions (such as on the age of children) that have the purpose or effect of excluding a substantial proportion of families with children. Many of these families are black or headed by women, groups theoretically protected by existing guarantees against housing discrimination.

The Fair Housing Act amendments are a bipartisan effort to address these persistent problems of discrimination effectively. The Administration originally opposed this measure, seeking to stall congressional action even after numerous hearings documented the need for prompt passage. It then promoted a weakened bill that would provide an ineffectual enforcement mechanism, limited protection to the disabled, and no protection at all to families with children.

The Administration also has sought to derail or delay the other major piece of civil rights legislation pending in Congress, the Civil Rights Restoration Act. This bill would close a large loophole in the federal law that prohibits programs receiving federal financial assistance from practicing discrimination. The basic principle of the law is that federal funds should not be used to support activities that are not open on an equal basis to minorities, women, and handicapped persons. But a 1984 Supreme Court ruling in *Grove City v. Bell* (made at the urging of the Justice Department) opened a loophole that allows recipients to continue to receive federal funds even if they practice discrimination in many of their activities, so long as they are not the same activities directly receiving the funds. Thus, if a college receives federal assistance only in the form of money for grants to students and loans for tuition, the prohibition against discrimination applies only to the college's financial aid program. It would not bar the college's other programs, such as its academic or athletic programs, from discriminating against women and minorities. This narrow reading means that much discrimination by federally funded institutions is neither investigated nor corrected:

- A black high school student filed a complaint with the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) alleging that her school's chapter of the National Honor Society had not inducted her because of race. Although fifth in her class and active in many extracurricular activities, she was not among the sixteen students invited to join. OCR closed her case because the Honor Society was not a direct recipient of funds.

- A black student challenged his suspension from school, charging that it was based on racial discrimination. Although school administrative personnel, the superintendent, and the Board of Education were involved in this disciplinary action, OCR closed the case because no federal money had been used to construct the particular building in which the incident involved took place.

Each year since the *Grove City* ruling, bills have been introduced in Congress to close this giant loophole for all federally funded institutions. Although purporting to agree that the law should be tightened with regard to educational institutions, the Administration has opposed this legislation because it would treat similarly other institutions such as hospitals.

Other bills the Administration has opposed include attempts to provide parental leave to reduce the burden that new parents—particularly women—face after the birth of babies. This legislation was introduced to meet the changing needs of many American families caused by the increasing number of women of childbearing age in the work force. It requires employers with substantial numbers of employees to guarantee job security for any worker who takes leave from work for a short time to care for a newborn, newly adopted, or seriously ill child. The Administration's extreme opposition to this bill was described by one White House aide as "more than ideological, it's theological."

The Administration also has been a vigorous opponent of bilingual education programs for children who speak little or no English. Contrary to the position of the U.S. Department of Education, the vast weight of research shows that such children need a transition into English-speaking instruction if they are to progress along with their English-speaking peers. The federal General Accounting Office concluded in a 1987 report that few experts agree with the view of the Department of Education under President Reagan that transitional bilingual education is not important.

The Reagan Record: Lax, Ineffective Civil Rights Enforcement

Not only has the Administration continued its efforts to block passage of improved civil rights laws, but it has thrown a succession of monkey wrenches into the enforcement of existing protections. Reagan's own former Secretary of Education Terrel Bell, in his 1988 book, *The Thirteenth Man—A Reagan Cabinet Memoir* (published by The Free Press), described how Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights William Bradford Reynolds made special efforts "to find gaps in the law" in order to circumvent necessary enforcement action.

> " . . . I never received any encouragement from others in the White House or from those in the Department of Justice to support enforcement of civil rights laws. . . . I had heard Ronald Reagan speak out convincingly against all forms of discrimination. . . . But the reinterpretation of these civil rights statutes by some of the senior officers in his administration was alarming, and so was the evidence of apparent bias among mid-level right-wing staffers in the White House and at OMB [the Office of Management and Budget].
>
> "I was shocked to hear their sick humor and racist cliches."
>
> Excerpts from *The Thirteenth Man* by Terrel Bell

The Administration repeatedly has tried to weaken the guidelines for civil rights enforcement through changes in the rules and regulations governing federal agency activities. Its key civil rights personnel publicly have spouted anti-civil rights rhetoric. And day-to-day enforcement of civil rights laws has received diminished funding and no priority. One consequence has been the demoralization of the federal employees who are charged with the implementation of our civil rights laws. Many of the Justice Department's most experienced civil rights lawyers have resigned. Other agencies' civil rights divisions are suffering from low morale and confusion about their purpose.

In a range of important areas, the Administration's civil rights officials no longer are meeting their responsibility for enforcing the basic obligations imposed on the government under federal law.

Education

Our nation's commitment to equal educational opportunity for every child has not yet been realized. Data show that, on average, minority children fall further behind in school the older they are and the more years of school they complete. Moreover, although substantial progress in black college entrance rates was made in the 1970s, black children are now significantly less likely to go to college than they were several years ago.

OCR is charged with the task of enforcing federal laws that prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, sex, handicap, or age in all education programs and activities funded by the federal government. Its responsibilities are to monitor regularly educational institutions' compliance with the civil rights laws and to investigate complaints that schools are practicing discrimination.

In 1985, after reviewing the activities of OCR, the House Committee on Government Operations issued a report that concluded that OCR had failed to enforce the law in many cases where discrimination had been found, and recommended several changes in the enforcement process. Yet similar hearings held in 1987 that focused on OCR's enforcement activities regarding elimination of segregation at colleges prompted the committee to conclude that OCR still was not enforcing the law.

OCR had required in the late 1970s that a state found to have engaged in illegal college-level segregation adopt a plan to achieve desegregation. The plans, which were agreed to by the states themselves, contained goals for the elimination of the remaining vestiges of once-prevalent *de jure* segregation (segregation required by law). But OCR's investigations showed that, as of 1987, the states had not met their own goals and that, in some cases, the situation actually had worsened for black students.

- In Arkansas the disparity between black and white entrance rates at public higher education institutions increased from the 1978-1979 school year to the 1985-1986 school year, as did the disparity between blacks and whites in graduate and professional programs in every field.
- In Virginia the gap in enrollment rates for whites and blacks increased in those years. In 1978 the black rate was 8.7 percent less than the white rate, but in 1985 it was 20.7 percent less than the white rate.

Despite this evidence that the states were even further from their goals, and the scheduled expiration of all of the states' desegregation plans in 1986 or 1987, OCR took no further action in these cases.

Education Department officials failed to comply with another anti-discrimination measure, a federal court order in *Adams v. Bennett* that established timetables for OCR to resolve discrimination complaints and conduct other compliance activities. A scandal occurred in 1987 when an employee in a regional OCR office reported that he had discovered an attempt to create a false illusion of compliance with the court's order through repeated backdating of agency documents. Several regional OCR offices were found to have engaged in such cover-ups of violations of the court order.

Health and Human Services

Access to health care is key for healthy child development. Yet minority children today are still far less likely to receive basic health services. For example, our nation's current record on providing children with basic protection against disease through immunization, while weak across-the-board, is even more deficient with regard to nonwhite children.

- In 1985, 38.5 percent of nonwhite children ages one to four years (as opposed to 22.5 percent of their white peers) were not fully immunized against the potentially crippling disease polio.
- The same year, 35.2 percent of nonwhite children younger than one (compared with 21.0 percent of their white peers) were not immunized against diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis.

Another important civil rights enforcer is the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). This office has broad responsibility for ensuring compliance with the nation's civil rights laws by health and human services programs that receive federal funds.

The House Government Operations Committee concluded in 1987 that the HHS Office of Civil Rights was doing an extremely poor job of enforcing federal anti-discrimination laws in hospitals and other institutions. It has allowed discrimination cases to languish at headquarters for as long as seven and a half years without any action. The study found the investigations that were conducted were superficial and inadequate, allowing cases to lapse with no resolution. Instead of issuing formal findings of discrimination, the HHS office tends to wait for voluntary compliance by the institution in question. The number of findings issued to recipients who were determined to be in violation of the law dropped sharply, from eighty-five in 1981 to only three in 1985. As a result, flagrant violations of the civil rights laws go unpunished and future illegal conduct is not deterred.

- A regional manager of the HHS Office of Civil Rights proposed a finding of illegal conduct against a San Francisco hospital that allegedly refused emergency treatment to an uninsured black man who died a few hours later at a county hospital. One year later, the office's headquarters in the District of Columbia had no record of the case.
- A staff physician at a hospital in Culbertson, Montana, allegedly refused for racial reasons to treat a Native American child, who subsequently died. The hospital refused to cooperate with the office's investigation, denying access to its records for nearly a year. The office's only response was to draft a voluntary compliance agreement.

Employment

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) is charged with enforcing a long-standing federal Executive Order that prohibits employment discrimination by federal contractors. The office's job is to assure that government contracts go to companies that give a fair share of their promotions to minorities and women. Under Executive Order 11246, federal contractors, which employ a total of more than 23 million Americans, must establish nondiscrimination plans that include hiring goals and timetables if the company has substantial underrepresentation of women or minorities in its work force. This Executive Order was adopted in 1967, strengthened in 1970 under President Nixon, based on specific criteria recommended by a private industry group of 350 large corporations, and continued under Republican and Democratic administrations.

Due to the strong support of the U.S. Labor Department, business groups, and the civil rights community, this program has narrowly survived continuous attack from Attorney General Edwin Meese III and other Reagan Administration officials. However, employee morale and productivity at the implementing agency have not. The position of director of the office remained vacant for months when a former director resigned in protest over the Administration's lack of commitment to the program. A congressional study of OFCCP concluded that the agency was in such "substantial disarray" that "effective enforcement has come to a virtual standstill." The number of cases that the agency moved through the pipeline for enforcement action declined from 269 in 1980 to twenty-two in 1986.

The federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is charged with enforcing the federal law prohibiting employment discrimination against several groups, including the elderly. In a case brought by the American Association of Retired Persons, a federal judge found in February 1987 that the EEOC was "at best slothful, at worst deceptive" in enforcing federal prohibitions against age discrimination. The EEOC had refused to require employers to make pension contributions for the benefit of employees older than sixty-five, despite the opinion of the EEOC general counsel in 1979 that failure to do so was contrary to the law. Because the agency's inaction allowed this illegal policy to remain in effect for eight years, hundreds of thousands of older Americans lost access to pension benefits said to equal as much as $450 million a year.

The President and Attorney General Have Nominated the Antagonists of Civil Rights

The Reagan Administration repeatedly has nominated to key positions—too often successfully—individuals with demonstrated hostility to the laws they are then expected to enforce. Attorney General Meese, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights William Bradford Reynolds, and Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights Clarence Pendleton all have been outspoken critics of many of the civil rights gains of the past several decades. Jobs that traditionally have been occupied by advocates for justice now are held by those who espouse the Administration's anti-civil rights rhetoric. According to Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall, the Justice Department has been filing briefs in the Supreme Court that are political speeches instead of well-considered and thoughtful legal opinions. The traditionally respected office of the solicitor general has been described by other Supreme Court Justices as a partisan political mouthpiece for the Administration.

In 1987 the Administration made a dramatically inappropriate choice by nominating federal Appeals Court Judge Robert Bork to the highest court of the land. Bork has long spoken and written in favor of limiting constitutional and statutory guarantees for civil and individual rights. His opposition to the basic principles of civil rights that have become embedded in American law was so radical that his confirmation was defeated in the Senate by a 58 to 42 vote.

Bork stridently and repeatedly had criticized almost every landmark civil rights decision of the past thirty years. He had opposed provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 guaranteeing to all Americans equal rights to public accommodations; harshly criticized Supreme Court decisions that prohibit enforcement of racial covenants (which maintained segregation in housing) and that outlaw poll taxes (which had deprived millions of blacks of the vote); and taken such a restrictive view of Congress' power to combat discrimination as to cast doubt on the constitutionality of provisions of the Voting Rights Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Bork's crabbed views of constitutional protections for civil rights ran directly counter to years of court precedent. He characterized as "improper" most of the substantive doctrines developed by the court in the area of equal protection of the laws for members of minority groups.

Though more extreme than many, Bork was by no means an anomaly among the Administration's candidates to serve at all levels of the federal court system. Studies have shown that, even in comparison to other Republican appointees, Reagan appointees to the bench tend to vote against those claiming discrimination significantly more often.

Reagan's choices for the federal bench—predominantly white males—have done nothing to redress the overwhelming racial and sexual imbalance on these courts. As of December 1987, Reagan had made sixty-eight appointments to the U.S. Court of Appeals. Of these only four (less than 6 percent) were women, and the one black and one Hispanic chosen meant that minorities' share was even less, a disgraceful 3 percent. Of the 234 appointments to the U.S. district courts Reagan made during the same period, nineteen (8 percent) were women, four were blacks, and eleven were Hispanics (or a total of 6 percent minorities). His record compares very poorly with that of President Jimmy Carter, whose appointments to both courts included 20 percent minorities and 20 percent women.

Among Reagan's recent choices were two men who exemplify the Administration's outright hostility toward civil rights. The first was Jeffrey B. Sessions III, whose nomination for a judgeship was defeated in the Senate in late 1986 in significant part because of his anti-civil rights record. As a federal prosecutor in Alabama, Sessions had made unprecedented efforts to try black civil rights activists for alleged voting fraud—charges that since have been thrown out. In 1987 the only conviction obtained was overturned in part because of charges of selective prosecution of blacks. One Department of Justice spokesperson indicated that the investigations had been part of a "new policy . . . brought on by the arrogance on the part of blacks in these counties." Sessions also had called the National Council of Churches, the NAACP, and the American Civil Liberties Union "un-American."

The Administration has nominated yet another radical civil rights foe, Bernard Siegan, for a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit—a choice that is still under consideration by the U.S. Senate. Siegan, a law professor at the University of San Diego and a former colleague of Attorney General Meese, has made his mark as an outspoken critic of decades of civil rights decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court. He has written that access to education, jury service, voting, and anything to do with government spending is not protected by the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment guarantee of equal protection of the laws.

The Administration Sides Against the Victims of Discrimination

Far from defending the rights of minorities, this Administration has led the attack in the courts on efforts to overcome years of past discrimination. In the employment area, the Administration has been fighting a losing battle to prevent public and private employers from undertaking efforts to remedy past discrimination in the work place.

During the Reagan era, Justice Department lawyers consistently have argued before the Supreme Court against minority and female workers and public and private employers who are defending affirmative action efforts. Most of the Justice Department's efforts have been rejected by the Court, as occurred in 1987 in *United States v. Paradise.* The case stemmed from a trial court finding in 1972 that the Alabama Department of Public Safety had engaged for almost four decades in the systematic exclusion of blacks from employment. The federal court ordered hiring goals and the elimination of employment practices that have the purpose or effect of discriminating. More than a decade of additional recalcitrance followed, so that by the early 1980s there were only four black officers out of a total of almost 200, and no blacks above the rank of corporal.

In 1983 the trial court and the United States (through the Department of Justice) agreed that another order was necessary to stop the continuing discrimination. The court then imposed a quota designed to promote qualified black candidates into all upper-rank positions in which black representation was less than 25 percent and for which Alabama had yet to develop a nondiscriminatory promotion plan.

The Justice Department, which originally had sided with the black plaintiffs, thought this order went too far and appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, calling it "profoundly illegal," even though neither the state of Alabama nor the white employees joined Justice in filing appeals. The Supreme Court affirmed the trial court, holding that the particular race-conscious relief was justified by the state's pervasive, systematic, and obstinate discriminatory exclusion of blacks.

In another key 1987 employment discrimination case, the Justice Department attacked directly a prototypical affirmative action plan, similar to that required by the federal Executive Order for federal contractors. In *Johnson v. Transportation Agency,* the Santa Clara, California, county transportation department had voluntarily adopted a plan that deemed sex and race as factors to be taken into consideration in making employment decisions. The justification for the plan lay in the significant numerical imbalance between men and women and between whites and minorities in certain segments of the county's work force. In the skilled craft category, for example, none of the 238 positions was held by a woman. When the agency hired a well-qualified woman before a well-qualified man, the Justice Department joined the male employee in attacking the plan. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the plan, however, noting that it established no rigid quotas and that the hiring decision at issue was based on consideration of a wide range of factors.

The Justice Department also has taken sides against the handicapped, most recently attacking their employment rights. In *School Board of Nassau County v. Arline,* an elementary school teacher was fired after an absence from her job caused by tuberculosis. There was no prior inquiry about any risk to the students; she was fired because of the fear of contagion alone. The Justice Department argued that such a firing—based on fear of an impairment rather than on the effects of the actual impairment--represented no violation of the employee's rights, claiming that laws protecting the handicapped only protect against discrimination stemming from the impairment itself. Under the department's rationale, individuals could be fired from their jobs whether or not their medical condition posed any actual risk to others, as long as those doing the firing claimed to be irrationally fearful. The Justice Department position was related to its position that persons with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) could be denied legal protection for the same reason. The acceptance of its view would remove key legal barriers protecting men, women, and children who carry the AIDS virus from unnecessary discrimination based on unfounded fears of contagion.

The U.S. Supreme Court rejected the Justice Department's view, holding that allowing discrimination on the basis of the fear of the contagious nature of an impairment was contrary to the purposes of the federal anti-discrimination law. If there were a real danger of contagion, the Supreme Court said, that factor obviously could be considered in deciding if the employee should keep the job.

Although Justice's position was repudiated by the Court, the department has not withdrawn its 1986 policy statement that persons with AIDS may be handicapped within the meaning of federal law but employers and others are free to discriminate against them on the basis of fear of contagion, even if such fears are unfounded.

In addition to pressing its anti-civil rights agenda before the Supreme Court, the Administration also has used its regulatory power to weaken civil rights protections enacted by Congress. In 1986 Congress passed sweeping immigration reform legislation intended in part to cut back on the flow of illegal immigration into the United States. The law imposes civil and criminal penalties on employers of four or more workers who hire illegal aliens. Therefore, in order to try to protect workers who sound or look foreign from unintended employment problems that may result, Congress included language in this legislation designed to prohibit discrimination against citizens or legal resident aliens. Employers generally are prohibited from refusing to employ citizens and legal residents or from imposing other qualifications, such as lengthy residency requirements, which effectively exclude these groups.

The Administration, which had opposed these protections in Congress, then dragged its heels in enforcing them. Officials stalled for months on actions mandated by Congress: appointing a special counsel to enforce the anti-discrimination provisions and issuing implementing regulations. The regulations finally adopted impose a virtually insurmountable barrier to the law's enforcement: requiring workers to show that the discrimination was intentional. The standard is difficult to meet because employers rarely openly express their intention to discriminate.

The policy regarding immigrants is only the most recent of many instances in which the Administration has tried to impose this intent standard on anti-discrimination laws. In spite of numerous rebuffs it has received from Congress and the courts when it has attempted to impose this standard in other contexts, and in the face of an outcry in Congress that the use of it distorts the immigration law, the Administration included the standard in its final immigration reform regulations.

Another Administration attempt to use regulatory action to weaken civil rights protection, in this instance for the handicapped, was struck down by a federal court at the beginning of 1988. Since 1964 Congress has passed a series of laws protecting the rights of handicapped persons to access to public transportation. A 1983 congressional directive ordered the Department of Transportation (DOT) to promulgate minimum standards that recipients of federal funds must meet in the provision of transportation services to handicapped and elderly individuals. DOT issued six service criteria, but it also said that a transit agency is not required to spend any more than 3 percent of its average total annual operating costs to meet those criteria. Furthermore, it said the costs of subsidizing a "half-fare" policy for the elderly could be included in that 3 percent. DOT's own studies showed that, if the 3 percent cap were implemented, transit authorities in cities with populations of fewer than 1 million virtually would never be able to provide fully accessible bus services or meet the applicable service criteria through other modes of transportation. The handicapped in those cities effectively would be denied the minimum service mandated by Congress. Groups of handicapped persons brought suit, and a federal court ruled that the DOT regulations in question were arbitrary and capricious. It held that cost may be considered in developing accessible transit, but "the cost limitation at issue here permits the burden of cost to eviscerate the civil right."

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1989

The Administration's budget seeks to continue years of erosion in the funding of many of our nation's primary civil rights enforcement agencies. It would cut funding for the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health and Human Services by $170,000. Its slight proposed funding increase for the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education would not be enough to keep pace with inflation. In fact, because the responses to the Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey will be due in FY 1989, placing an extra burden on this office, the proposed budget would effect an even deeper cut in existing services.

The few civil rights enforcement agencies for which the Administration has proposed slight increases are generally those to which Congress has given new enforcement responsibilities that are far too costly to be covered by these modest boosts. For example, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs in the Department of Labor, slated for a $53,000 increase, will be adding a new task—checking compliance with the Immigration Reform and Control Act—to its responsibilities. The Special Counsel for Discrimination in the Department of Justice, for which the Aministration asks a mere $350,000 increase in real dollars, will be responsible for opening and operating new regional offices.

The notable exception to tight funding in the area of civil rights enforcement is the Administration's proposal to more than double funding for the Commission on Civil Rights, which has been stacked with anti-civil rights partisans and denounced by Congress and civil rights advocates for its questionable management and wasteful expenditure of funds.

Programs directed at increasing minorities' and women's opportunities to obtain the skills and other resources necessary to improve their economic status once again receive short shrift in the Administration's proposals. The Administration again seeks to eliminate the Women's Educational Equity Act Program and federal support for bilingual vocational education programs, and proposes to reduce funding for immigrant education. Also proposed for elimination are the Congregate Services Program, which funds support services to enable the handicapped and the elderly to live independently, and the Department of Education's component of the Architectural Barriers Removal Program, which is designed to provide better access for the handicapped to elementary and secondary schools. Commerce Department funding for the establishment and expansion of firms owned by minorities or other disadvantaged Americans would be cut almost by half under the Administration's proposal to consolidate its Minority Business Development Agency into Small Business Administration programs.

APPENDIX A
DATA ON CHILDREN, POVERTY, AND FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Federal Budget for Selected Children's Programs

	FY 1987 Actual (millions)	FY 1988 Actual (millions)	FY 1989 Proposed (millions)	Change From 1988 To FY 1989 (millions)	Change From 1988 To FY 1989 (percent)
Child Care & Child Welfare:					
Social Services Block Grant	$ 2,700.0	$ 2,750.0	$ 2,700.0	$ -50.0	-1.8
Community Services Block Grant	405.0	382.3	310.0	-72.3	-18.9
Head Start	1,130.5	1,206.3	1,206.3	0.0	0.0
Child Development Scholarships	1.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	0.0
After School & Dependent Care	4.8	8.4	8.4	0.0	0.0
Child Care/Crisis Nurseries	0.0	4.8	0.0	-4.8	-100.0
Child Abuse State Grants	12.0	11.5	11.5	0.0	0.0
Child Abuse Discretionary	13.9	13.3	13.3	0.0	0.0
Child Abuse Challenge Grants	5.0	4.8	4.8	0.0	0.0
Family Violence	8.5	8.1	8.1	0.0	0.0
Adoption Opportunities	5.0	4.8	4.8	0.0	0.0
Child Welfare Research	11.3	10.9	16.0	5.1	46.8
Child Welfare Services	222.5	239.4	239.4	0.0	0.0
Child Welfare Training	3.8	3.7	3.7	0.0	0.0
Independent Living	45.0	45.0	0.0	-45.0	-100.0
Child/Adolescent Service System	4.7	7.4	10.0	2.6	35.1
Runaway Youth	23.2	26.1	26.1	0.0	0.0
Juvenile Justice	70.3	68.6	0.0	-68.6	-100.0
Native American Programs	29.0	29.7	29.7	0.0	0.0
Development Disabilities	83.6	92.8	77.5	-15.3	-16.5
....Subtotal	$ 4,779.1	$ 4,919.3	$ 4,671.0	$ -248.3	-5.0
Child Health:					
Maternal & Child Health	$ 478.0	$ 526.6	$ 561.0	$ 34.4	6.5
Preventive Health Block Grant	90.0	86.0	86.0	0.0	0.0
Mental Health Block Grant	495.9	487.3	509.0	21.7	4.5
Mental Health Community Support	15.0	15.0	14.0	-1.0	-6.7
Immunization	87.3	98.0	102.0	4.0	4.1
Venereal Disease Prevention	60.0	65.0	65.0	0.0	0.0
Community Health Centers	400.0	382.9	400.0	17.1	4.5
Black Lung Clinics	3.4	3.3	3.3	0.0	0.0
Migrant Health	45.4	43.5	44.4	0.9	2.1
Family Planning	142.5	140.0	140.0	0.0	0.0
....Subtotal	$ 1,817.5	$ 1,847.6	$ 1,924.7	$ 77.1	4.2

Federal Budget for Selected Children's Programs (continued)

	FY 1987 Actual (millions)	FY 1988 Actual (millions)	FY 1989 Proposed (millions)	Change From 1988 To FY 1989 (millions)	Change From 1988 To FY 1989 (percent)
Education:					
Compensatory Education	$ 3,944.2	$ 4,327.9	$ 4,566.1	$ 238.2	5.5
Handicapped Education	1,741.9	1,869.0	1,916.9	47.9	2.6
Bilingual Education	180.6	146.6	156.6	10.0	6.8
Chapter II	529.3	508.4	575.0	66.6	13.1
Vocational Education	882.0	888.2	888.2	0.0	0.0
Indian Education	64.0	66.3	67.7	1.4	2.1
Follow Through	7.2	7.1	0.0	-7.1	-100.0
Dropout Prevention	0.0	23.9	0.0	-23.9	-100.0
Education of Homeless Children	0.0	9.4	0.0	-9.4	-100.0
Women's Educational Equity	3.5	3.4	0.0	-3.4	-100.0
Civil Rights IV-A Centers	24.0	23.5	23.5	0.0	0.0
Student Financial Assistance	5,483.0	5,544.8	6,099.6	554.8	10.0
Guaranteed Student Loans	2,717.0	2,565.0	2,735.6	170.6	6.7
Perkins Student Loans	210.0	210.6	22.0	-188.6	-89.6
TRIO (higher education)	176.4	205.8	205.8	0.0	0.0
....Subtotal	$15,963.1	$16,399.9	$17,257.0	$ 857.1	5.2
Miscellaneous:					
Supplemental Food (W.I.C.)	$ 1,663.5	$ 1,802.4	$ 1,871.9	$ 69.5	3.9
Job Corps	656.4	716.1	710.6	-5.5	-0.8
Summer Youth Employment	750.0	718.1	718.1	0.0	0.0
Low-Income Housing	7,329.0	7,419.0	6,583.0	-836.0	-11.3
Temporary Emergency Food	50.0	50.0	0.0	-50.0	-100.0
Emergency Food and Shelter	125.0	114.0	80.0	-34.0	-29.8
Low-Income Energy Assistance	1,825.0	1,531.8	1,187.0	-344.8	-22.5
Legal Services	305.5	305.5	250.0	-55.5	-18.2
Rehabilitation Services	1,484.8	1,590.4	1,616.4	26.0	1.6
Work Incentives	126.0	92.6	0.0	-92.6	-100.0
....Subtotal	$14,315.2	$14,339.9	$13,017.0	$-1,322.9	-9.2
Total	$36,874.9	$37,506.7	$36,869.7	$ -637.0	-1.7

For notes and descriptions, see the individual chapters of this book.

Federal Budget

Major Entitlement Programs of Critical Importance to Children and Families

	FY 1989 Current Policy (millions)	FY 1989 Proposed Amount (millions)	Change Proposed in Amount (millions)	Change Proposed in Amount (percent)
Food Stamps	$12,519.7	$12,519.7	$ 0.0	0.0
Child Nutrition	5,013.3	5,013.3	0.0	0.0
AFDC & Child Support	10,704.3	10,723.1	18.8	0.2
Foster Care & Adoption	1,074.9	1,074.9	0.0	0.0
Medicaid	32,732.6	32,319.6	-413.0	-1.3
Total	$62,044.8	$61,650.6	$ -394.2	-0.6

For notes and descriptions, see the individual chapters of this book.

Federal Budget

Federal Outlays per Person (FY 1988 Dollars) for National Defense, for Interest Payments on the National Debt, and for Programs for Low-Income Families and Children, FY 1980-1993

Fiscal Years 1980-1993

Fiscal Year	National Defense	Debt Payments	Low-Income Programs
1980	$ 812.81	$ 318.54	$ 525.83
1981	851.49	371.56	531.20
1982	924.81	424.18	463.67
1983	1,002.95	428.96	471.41
1984	1,042.55	509.13	471.52
1985	1,107.77	567.28	476.61
1986	1,162.21	578.05	487.98
1987	1,156.81	568.44	488.97
1988	1,111.97	576.08	516.98
1989	1,090.53	563.05	521.63
1990	1,085.20	555.28	523.28
1991	1,089.45	543.05	522.74
1992	1,100.86	498.51	522.26
1993	1,118.47	453.52	525.25
Change FY 1980- FY 1993			
in real dollars	+$ 305.66	+$ 134.98	-$ .58
in percent	+ 37.6%	+ 42.4%	- 0.1%

For FY 1989-FY 1993, numbers reflect the President's budget proposals. National Defense outlays are totals for function 050. Interest on the national debt is net interest, function 900, on or off budget. Programs for low-income families and children include all outlays for: education, training, and social services (function 500); health care services (subfunction 551); housing assistance (subfunction 604); food and nutrition assistance (subfunction 605); and other income security (subfunction 609). This grouping includes all the programs discussed in this book, plus many small categorical programs (e.g., library grants) and a few larger adult employment programs (eg., employment services) not covered. The consumer price index (CPI-W) used to convert to real FY 1988 dollars uses actual Bureau of Labor Statistics data through December 1987, and Office of Management and Budget projections for 1988 and after. U.S. total population estimates (through July 1, 1987) and projections thereafter (adjusted by CDF for the error of estimate in 1987) are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census. $14.1 billion in FY 1985 of low income housing loans are removed from subfunction 504. These loans are treated as direct outlays in that year's budget for technical reasons related to tax changes passed the prior year. They did not include any actual new funds for housing in that or any other year. All calculations are by the Children's Defense Fund.

Poverty

Percentage of Children in Poverty, by Family Structure and Race, 1959-1986

	Hispanic			Black			White			Total		
	Female Head	Male Head	Total	Female Head	Male Head	Total	Female Head	Male Head	Total	Female Head	Male Head	Total
1959	n/a	n/a	n/a	81.6	60.6	65.5	64.6	17.4	20.6	72.2	22.4	26.9
1969	n/a	n/a	n/a	68.2	25.0	39.6	45.2	6.7	9.7	54.4	8.6	13.8
1979	62.2	19.2	27.7	63.1	18.7	40.8	38.6	7.3	11.4	48.6	8.5	16.0
1980	65.0	22.9	33.0	64.8	20.3	42.1	41.6	9.0	13.4	50.8	10.4	17.9
1981	67.3	24.5	35.4	67.7	23.4	44.9	42.8	10.0	14.7	52.3	11.6	19.5
1982	71.8	27.8	38.9	70.7	24.1	47.3	46.5	11.6	16.5	56.0	13.0	21.3
1983	70.6	27.2	37.7	68.3	23.7	46.2	47.1	12.0	17.0	55.4	13.5	21.8
1984	71.0	27.5	38.7	66.2	24.3	46.2	45.9	11.0	16.1	54.0	12.5	21.0
1985	72.4	27.4	39.6	66.9	18.8	43.1	45.2	10.4	15.6	53.6	11.7	20.1
1986	66.7	25.8	37.1	67.1	17.0	42.7	46.3	9.8	15.3	54.4	10.8	19.8

Percent change in poverty level 1959-1979 and 1979-1986:

1959-1979	n/a	n/a	n/a	-22.7	-69.1	-37.7	-40.2	-58.0	-44.7	-32.7	-62.1	-40.5
1979-1986	+7.2	+34.4	+33.9	+6.3	-9.1	+4.7	+19.9	+34.2	+34.2	+11.9	+27.1	+23.8

Note: Hispanic children may be of any race. Hispanic data are first available in 1973.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 157, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1986 (Advance Data from the March 1987 Current Population Survey)," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., July 1987, table 16, pages 24-7. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Poverty Rates by Age Group, 1969-1986

	All	18-up	6-17	0-5	0-17
1969	12.2	11.2	13.5	15.3	14.1
1970	12.6	11.3	14.3	16.6	15.0
1971	12.5	11.2	14.3	16.9	15.1
1972	11.9	10.4	14.4	16.1	14.9
1973	11.1	9.6	13.6	15.7	14.2
1974	11.6	9.8	14.9	16.9	15.5
1975	12.3	10.3	16.2	18.4	16.8
1976	11.8	10.0	15.1	17.7	15.8
1977	11.6	9.7	15.1	18.1	16.0
1978	11.4	9.6	15.0	17.2	15.7
1979	11.6	9.9	15.1	17.9	16.0
1980	13.0	11.1	16.8	20.3	17.9
1981	14.0	11.9	18.4	22.0	19.5
1982	15.0	12.7	20.3	23.3	21.3
1983	15.2	12.9	20.2	24.6	21.7
1984	14.4	12.1	19.7	23.4	21.0
1985	14.0	11.5	19.5	23.0	20.1
1986	13.6	11.1	19.6	22.1	19.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 157, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1986 (Advance Data from the March 1987 Current Population Survey)," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., table 18, page 30; and corresponding reports for previous years. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Percentage of Families with Children Under Age 18 with 1985 Income Below the Poverty Level, by Type of Family and Age and Race of Family Head

Family Type and Age of Head	Black	White	Total
Female-Headed Families	58.9	38.7	45.4
Head Under Age 25	85.8	76.4	79.9
Head Age 25-44	57.9	37.2	43.9
Two-Parent Families	12.9	8.2	8.9
Head Under Age 25	27.1	20.7	21.4
Head Age 25-44	11.2	7.6	8.1

Note: Data for Hispanic families are not published.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 158, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1985," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1987, table 15, pages 74-77.

Median Income Deficit Among Poor Families in 1986 Dollars, and as a Percentage of the 1986 Poverty Level for a Four-Person Family, 1959-1986

Year	Family Median Income Deficit (1986$)	% of 1986 4-Person Poverty Level
1959	3595	32.1
1969	2942	26.3
1970	3139	28.0
1971	3037	27.1
1972	3153	28.1
1973	3061	27.3
1974	3360	30.0
1975	3056	27.3
1976	3045	27.2
1977	3211	28.7
1978	3244	29.0
1979	3308	29.5
1980	3433	30.6
1981	3639	32.5
1982	3846	34.3
1983	3943	35.2
1984	3902	34.8
1985	3858	34.4
1986	3882	34.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 157, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1986 (Advanced Data from the March 1987 Current Population Survey)," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., July 1987, table 21, page 35, and previous issues. The series is adjusted for inflation by CPI(U). Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Number of Children Living in Families with Incomes Below One-Half of Poverty Level, by Type of Family, and Age and Race of Child, 1979 and 1985

	Black Children	% of Poor Black Children	White Children	% of Poor White Children	Total Children	% of All Poor Children
All children under 18:						
Female-Headed, 1985	1,775,000	55.8	1,421,000	42.1	3,263,000	48.6
Female-Headed, 1979	1,173,000	41.1	898,000	35.1	2,111,000	38.3
All other, 1985	244,000	27.9	1,398,000	31.3	1,764,000	30.6
All other, 1979	248,000	29.4	954,000	29.8	1,287,000	30.5
Total families, 1985	2,019,000	49.8	2,819,000	36.0	5,027,000	40.3
Total families, 1979	1,421,000	38.5	1,852,000	32.2	3,398,000	34.9
All children under 6:						
Female-Headed, 1985	735,000	62.0	574,000	46.3	1,331,000	53.7
Female-Headed, 1979	491,000	51.0	344,000	40.5	849,000	46.0
All other, 1985	83,000	26.3	626,000	33.1	745,000	31.7
All other, 1979	70,000	26.2	334,000	28.5	436,000	29.0
Total families, 1985	818,000	54.5	1,200,000	38.3	2,076,000	43.0
Total families, 1979	561,000	45.6	678,000	33.6	1,285,000	38.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 158, "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1985," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1987, table 4, pages 21-22, and the corresponding volume for 1979.

UNITED STATES HEALTH DATA

Fact Sheet, 1985

	White	*Nonwhite*		*Total*
		Black	*Total*	
Births				
To all women	2,991,373	608,193	769,188	3,760,561
To all women age 19 and under	322,826	140,130	154,879	477,705
To women under age 15	4,101	5,860	6,119	10,220
Teen Births				
(As a percentage of all births)				
To women age 19 and under	10.8%	23.0%	20.1%	12.7%
To women under age 15	0.1	1.0	0.8	0.3
Low-Birthweight Births				
Percentage of births that were low birthweight:				
To all women	5.6%	12.4%	11.1%	6.8%
To women age 19 and under	7.7	13.4	12.8	9.3
Percentage of all low-birthweight births:				
To women age 19 and under	14.7%	24.9%	23.3%	17.6%
Prenatal Care				
Percentage of babies born to women who:				
Began prenatal care in the first trimester				
All women	79.4%	61.8%	63.7%	76.2%
Women age 19 and under	56.6	46.8	47.0	53.5
Began prenatal care in the third trimester or not at all				
All women	4.7%	10.0%	9.5%	5.7%
Women age 19 and under	11.0	14.6	14.6	12.2
*Received adequate prenatal care**				
All women	72.3%	50.1%	51.4%	68.2%
*Received inadequate prenatal care**				
All women	6.2%	15.0%	14.5%	7.9%
Infant Mortality				
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births				
Total infant deaths	9.3	18.2	15.8	10.6
Neonatal deaths	6.1	12.1	10.3	7.0
Postneonatal deaths	3.2	6.1	5.5	3.7

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*Does not equal 100 percent.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Surgeon General's 1990 Objectives Fact Sheet for the Nation

Infant Mortality	*1985 rate*	*1990 goal*	*Average change per year 1978-1985*	*Average change needed per year to reach the 1990 goal*	*Will meet 1990 goal?*
Total	10.6	9.0	-0.46	-0.32	Y
White	9.3	12.0	-0.39	-0.06	Y
Black	18.2	12.0	-0.70	-1.24	N
Nonwhite	15.8	12.0	-0.77	-0.76	Y
Neonatal Mortality					
Total	7.0	6.0	-0.36	-0.10	Y
Postneonatal Mortality					
Total	3.7	2.5	-0.09	-0.24	N
Low Birthweight					
Total	6.8%	5.0%	-0.04	-0.36	N
White	5.6	9.0	-0.04	-0.12	N
Black	12.4	9.0	-0.07	-0.68	N
Nonwhite	11.1	9.0	-0.11	-0.42	N
Early Prenatal Care					
Total	76.2%	90.0%	0.19	2.76	N
White	79.4	90.0	0.17	2.12	N
Black	61.8	90.0	0.23	5.64	N
Nonwhite	63.7	90.0	0.33	5.26	N

Progress Toward Meeting the Surgeon General's 1990 Objectives for the Nation

			Nonwhite	
Infant Mortality	*All races*	*White*	*Black*	*Total*
Change 1984-1985*	-0.20	-0.10	-0.20	-0.30
Projected Change Needed 1984-1985	-0.30	-0.07	-1.07	-0.68
Low Birthweight				
Change 1984-1985*	-0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00
Projected Change Needed 1984-1985	-0.28	-0.10	-0.57	-0.35
Early Prenatal Care				
Change 1984-1985*	-0.30	-0.20	-0.40	-0.40
Projected Change Needed 1984-1985	+2.25	+1.73	+4.63	+4.32

*Change in percentage points.

Maternal and Child Health

Infant Mortality Rate, Black, 1985

Rank	State	Rate
1	Arizona	12.4
2	Washington	12.6
3	Arkansas	14.2
4	Kansas	14.4
5	Minnesota	15.5
6	Texas	15.5
7	Colorado	15.9
8	New York	16.1
9	California	16.3
10	Ohio	16.9
11	Missouri	17.0
12	Alabama	17.0
13	Louisiana	17.2
14	Wisconsin	17.4
15	North Carolina	17.8
16	Florida	17.8
17	Oklahoma	18.5
18	New Jersey	18.8
19	Maryland	18.9
20	Mississippi	18.9
21	Georgia	19.0
22	Virginia	19.2
23	Indiana	19.5
24	Tennessee	20.2
25	Pennsylvania	20.4
26	Kentucky	20.5
27	Massachusetts	20.8
28	Connecticut	20.9
29	Illinois	21.4
30	South Carolina	21.8
31	Michigan	22.4
32	District of Columbia	23.7
33	Delaware	25.8
	United States	18.2

Infant Mortality Rate, White, 1985

Rank	State	Rate
1	Hawaii	7.5
2	Rhode Island	8.1
3	Massachusetts	8.2
4	North Dakota	8.4
5	Wisconsin	8.5
6	Connecticut	8.5
7	Vermont	8.5
8	Louisiana	8.6
9	Nevada	8.7
10	Minnesota	8.8
11	New Jersey	8.8
12	Tennessee	8.9
13	South Dakota	8.9
14	Texas	9.0
15	Kansas	9.0
16	Nebraska	9.0
17	Missouri	9.0
18	Colorado	9.1
19	Maryland	9.1
20	California	9.2
21	Maine	9.2
22	New Hampshire	9.2
23	Florida	9.2
24	Illinois	9.3
25	Virginia	9.3
26	Mississippi	9.3
27	Ohio	9.3
28	Michigan	9.3
29	New York	9.4
30	Iowa	9.4
31	North Carolina	9.4
32	Arizona	9.4
33	Georgia	9.5
34	Pennsylvania	9.5
35	Alaska	9.6
36	South Carolina	9.6
37	Utah	9.7
38	Oregon	9.7
39	Montana	9.8
40	Indiana	10.0
41	Kentucky	10.3
42	Alabama	10.4
43	West Virginia	10.4
44	Idaho	10.5
45	New Mexico	10.6
46	Oklahoma	10.8
47	Washington	10.9
48	Arkansas	10.9
49	Delaware	11.6
50	Wyoming	12.2
	United States	9.3

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Maternal and Child Health

Infant Mortality Rate, All Cities of 500,000+ Population, White,* 1985

Rank	City	Rate
1	Dallas	8.0
2	San Francisco	8.0
3	San Jose	8.5
4	San Diego	8.7
5	Los Angeles	9.5
6	Phoenix	9.6
7	Houston	10.0
8	Boston	10.1
9	Milwaukee	10.6
10	Indianapolis	11.1
11	Cleveland	11.2
12	San Antonio	11.3
13	Chicago	11.4
14	Jacksonville	11.8
15	Baltimore	11.8
16	Columbus	11.9
17	New Orleans	11.9
18	Memphis	12.1
19	Philadelphia	12.9
20	Detroit	13.1
21	New York City	13.8
	United States	9.3

Infant Mortality Rate, All Cities of 500,000+ Population, Black,* 1985

Rank	City	Rate
1	Columbus	13.3
2	New Orleans	15.1
3	Houston	15.1
4	San Diego	15.5
5	New York City	17.4
6	Dallas	17.6
7	Milwaukee	18.0
8	Cleveland	18.5
9	Baltimore	19.9
10	Jacksonville	20.0
11	Los Angeles	20.1
12	Detroit	22.3
13	Philadelphia	22.4
14	Chicago	22.5
15	Memphis	23.3
16	District of Columbia	23.7
17	Indianapolis	23.9
18	Boston	25.3
	United States	18.2

Maternal Mortality Rates,* by Race, 1978-1985

			Nonwhite	
Year	All Races	White	Black	Total
1979	9.6	6.4	25.1	22.7
1980	9.2	6.7	21.5	19.8
1981	8.5	6.3	20.4	17.3
1982	7.9	5.8	18.4	16.4
1983	8.0	5.9	18.3	16.3
1984	7.8	5.4	19.7	16.9
1985	7.8	5.2	20.4	18.1

* Deaths per 10[illegible]000 live births.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

Percentage of Infants Born at Low Birthweight, by Race, U.S., Selected Years, 1950-1985

Year	*All Races*	*White*	*Nonwhite*		*Ratio of Black to White*
			Black	*Total*	
1950	7.5	7.1	—	10.2	—
1955	7.6	6.8	—	11.7	—
1960	7.7	6.8	—	12.8	—
1961	7.8	6.9	—	13.0	—
1962	8.0	7.0	—	13.1	—
1963	8.2	7.1	—	13.6	—
1964	8.2	7.1	—	13.9	—
1965	8.3	7.2	—	13.8	—
1966	8.3	7.2	—	13.9	—
1967	8.2	7.1	—	13.6	—
1968	8.2	7.1	—	13.7	—
1969	8.1	7.0	14.1	13.5	2.01
1970	7.9	6.8	13.9	13.3	2.04
1971	7.7	6.6	13.4	12.7	2.03
1972	7.7	6.5	13.6	12.9	2.09
1973	7.6	6.4	13.3	12.5	2.08
1974	7.4	6.3	13.1	12.4	2.08
1975	7.4	6.3	13.1	12.2	2.08
1976	7.3	6.1	13.0	12.1	2.13
1977	7.1	5.9	12.8	11.9	2.17
1978	7.1	5.9	12.8	11.9	2.17
1979	6.9	5.8	12.6	11.6	2.17
1980	6.8	5.7	12.5	11.5	2.19
1981	6.8	5.7	12.5	11.4	2.19
1982	6.8	5.6	12.4	11.2	2.21
1983	6.8	5.6	12.6	11.2	2.25
1984	6.7	5.6	12.4	11.1	2.21
1985	6.8	5.6	12.4	11.1	2.21

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Percentage of Infants Born at Very Low Birthweight, by Race, U.S., 1979-1985

Year	*All Races*	*White*	*Black*
1979	1.15	0.90	2.37
1980	1.15	0.90	2.44
1981	1.16	0.90	2.47
1982	1.18	0.92	2.51
1983	1.19	0.93	2.55
1984	1.19	0.92	2.56
1985	1.21	0.94	2.65

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Percentage of Babies Born to Women Receiving First Trimester Care, by Race, U.S., 1969-1985

			Nonwhite	
Year	*All Races*	*White*	*Black*	*Total*
1969	68.0	72.4	42.7	44.5
1970	67.9	72.4	44.3	46.0
1971	68.6	73.0	46.6	48.1
1972	69.4	73.6	49.0	50.6
1973	70.8	74.9	51.4	52.9
1974	72.1	75.9	53.9	55.3
1975	72.3	75.9	55.8	57.0
1976	73.5	76.8	57.7	58.8
1977	74.1	77.3	59.0	60.1
1978	74.9	78.2	60.2	61.4
1979	75.9	79.1	61.6	62.9
1980	76.3	79.3	62.7	63.8
1981	76.3	79.4	62.4	63.8
1982	76.1	79.3	61.5	63.2
1983	76.2	79.4	61.5	63.4
1984	76.5	79.6	62.2	64.1
1985	76.2	79.4	61.8	63.7

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Percentage of Babies Born to Women Receiving Late or No Prenatal Care, by Race, U.S., 1969-1985

			Nonwhite	
Year	*All Races*	*White*	*Black*	*Total*
1969	8.1	6.3	18.2	17.7
1970	7.9	6.2	16.6	16.2
1971	7.2	5.8	14.6	14.1
1972	7.0	5.5	13.2	13.1
1973	6.7	5.4	12.4	12.3
1974	6.2	5.0	11.4	11.2
1975	6.0	5.0	10.5	10.4
1976	5.7	4.8	9.9	9.8
1977	5.6	4.7	9.6	9.5
1978	5.4	4.5	9.3	9.1
1979	5.1	4.3	8.9	8.8
1980	5.1	4.3	8.8	8.8
1981	5.2	4.3	9.1	8.9
1982	5.5	4.5	9.6	9.3
1983	5.6	4.6	9.7	9.4
1984	5.6	4.7	9.6	9.3
1985	5.7	4.7	10.0	9.5

Note: Late care is defined as starting in the third trimester.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Percent of Births by Adequacy of Mother's Prenatal Care, White, 1985

Adequate Care

Rank	State	Percent
1	Connecticut	83.1
2	Massachusetts	81.4
3	New Hampshire	81.1
4	Mississippi	80.9
5	Iowa	80.4
6	Wisconsin	80.3
7	Maryland	80.0
8	Rhode Island	79.7
9	North Carolina	79.7
10	Michigan	79.1
11	Ohio	78.2
12	Virginia	78.1
13	Kansas	78.0
14	Louisiana	77.2
15	Missouri	76.9
16	Maine	76.6
17	New Jersey	76.5
18	Alabama	76.1
19	Georgia	75.4
20	Pennsylvania	74.2
21	Nebraska	74.0
22	Washington	73.5
23	Illinois	73.4
24	Montana	73.2
25	Indiana	73.0
26	Delaware	72.8
27	Tennessee	72.6
28	Minnesota	72.3
29	Utah	71.6
30	Colorado	71.4
31	District of Columbia	71.3
32	Wyoming	70.9
33	Kentucky	70.5
34	Oregon	70.2
35	Hawaii	69.9
36	Nevada	69.5
37	Idaho	69.3
38	South Carolina	68.9
39	Alaska	68.8
40	South Dakota	67.8
41	Arkansas	67.5
42	North Dakota	67.5
43	New York	66.9
44	Florida	66.5
45	Oklahoma	65.7
46	Arizona	65.6
47	Vermont	63.6
48	West Virginia	62.1
49	Texas	59.3
50	New Mexico	52.3
	United States	72.3

Percent of Births by Adequacy of Mother's Prenatal Care, Black, 1985

Adequate Care

Rank	State	Percent
1	New Hampshire	78.9
2	North Dakota	74.1
3	Maine	70.4
4	Hawaii	65.8
5	Michigan	65.7
6	Iowa	65.4
7	Montana	65.3
8	Idaho	64.0
9	Massachusetts	63.6
10	Rhode Island	63.2
11	Kansas	62.9
12	Wyoming	60.6
13	South Dakota	60.2
14	Colorado	59.7
15	Ohio	59.2
16	Virginia	58.7
17	Maryland	58.0
18	Alaska	57.3
19	Washington	57.1
20	North Carolina	56.8
21	Arizona	56.6
22	Missouri	55.2
23	Connecticut	54.1
24	Georgia	53.8
25	Mississippi	53.5
26	New Jersey	53.5
27	Oregon	53.3
28	Kentucky	52.9
29	Tennessee	52.6
30	Minnesota	52.4
31	Nebraska	52.4
32	Utah	50.9
33	Wisconsin	49.8
34	Delaware	49.8
35	Illinois	48.7
36	Nevada	47.1
37	Louisiana	47.1
38	District of Columbia	46.9
39	Indiana	46.7
40	Texas	46.6
41	Alabama	46.3
42	Pennsylvania	46.3
43	Oklahoma	46.1
44	West Virginia	44.1
45	South Carolina	44.0
46	New Mexico	43.7
47	Florida	42.2
48	Arkansas	41.4
49	New York	37.1
	United States	50.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Characteristics of State Medicaid Programs for Children and Pregnant Women

The fifty-state chart measures states' response to new Medicaid options, as well as their response to important, preexisting options for coverage of children and pregnant women. The following provides a more detailed explanation of each information column:

- Maximum AFDC Payment, Family of Three: Percentage of Federal Poverty: The AFDC payment level, which depicts the basic Medicaid income eligibility test for most children in nearly all states, is shown in the first column. However, a few states have elected to use a different eligibility determination system for assessing whether a family qualifies for AFDC payments and/or Medicaid. In these states, even if a family's income exceeds the state's AFDC grant level, it is eligible to receive a small AFDC payment and Medicaid as long as its income falls below the standard of need. These thresholds (where applicable) are depicted parenthetically in the first column.
- Medically Needy Eligibility, Family of Three: Percentage of Federal Poverty: States have the option of extending Medicaid to certain individuals and families whose incomes are too high to qualify for a cash payment but who have incurred sufficient medical expenses so that they cannot meet the cost of necessary care. States opting to provide coverage of this "medically needy" population must, at a minimum, cover all pregnant women and children who would qualify for mandatory coverage if their incomes were lower.
- All Financially Needy Children Under Eighteen: Since 1965 states have had the option of covering all financially needy children younger than twenty-one. In 1981, as part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (P. L. 97-35), states were given the option of stopping coverage at age eighteen. A financially needy child is any child who qualifies for AFDC on the basis of income and resources but who is not "dependent" within the meaning of the AFDC program (that is, he or she does not live in a household in which one parent is dead, absent, incapacitated, or unemployed). These children also are known as "Ribicoff" children after the Senate sponsor of the 1965 amendment adding them as an optional coverage group. The classic Ribicoff child is one living in a two-parent working family, but other Ribicoff children include those living in institutions for the retarded, in foster care arrangements, or alone.

Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986: In 1986 Congress amended the Medicaid program to provide states considerable new flexibility to strengthen and expand coverage of pregnant women and children. These amendments, contained in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 (OBRA '86), permit states to:

- Cover women and infants with family incomes between the AFDC eligibility level and the federal poverty level;
- Phase in coverage of children ages one to five with family incomes between the AFDC eligibility level and the federal poverty level;
- Waive application of any asset test in the case of pregnant women and children younger than five;
- Provide continuous coverage to pregnant women throughout their pregnancies and the sixty-day postpartum period, regardless of a change in income;
- Provide presumptive (i.e., immediate and temporary) eligibility to pregnant women during the period when their formal applications are considered.

- Expanded Financial Coverage: Pregnant Women and Infants: This column depicts states that have elected to take advantage of the OBRA '86 option to raise the income eligibility level above the AFDC level. A state is listed as a "yes" if it has not only enacted enabling legislation but also has a fixed effective date. Texas, Utah, and Illinois have passed enabling legislation but have no effective dates. Thus, they are indicated with a cross mark.
- Income Eligibility: Percentage of Federal Poverty: Of the implementing states, all but three (Arkansas, Oregon, and Washington State) have established income eligibility for newly covered pregnant women and children at the federal poverty level.
- Asset Test Waived: Of the implementing jurisdictions, sixteen (fifteen states and the District of Columbia) have waived the asset test entirely. It is important to note that virtually all of the remaining states, while not waiving the asset test, broadened and simplified it considerably, eliminating from consideration such assets as homes, cars, and income-producing property.

Characteristics of State Medicaid Programs for Children and Pregnant Women, 1987

State	*Maximum AFDC payment, family of 3: percentage of federal poverty*	*Medically needy eligibility, family of 3: percentage of federal poverty*	*All financially needy children under 18*
Alabama	15.4	NA	No
Alaska	77.4	NA	Yes
Arizona	37.8	51.7	Yes
Arkansas	24.8	33.3	Yes
California	79.6	106.5	Yes
Colorado	44.6 (54.3)	NA	No
Connecticut	65.2	91.4	Yes
Delaware	40.0	NA	Yes
District of Columbia	47.0	62.6	Yes
Florida	34.1	46.3	Yes
Georgia	33.0	44.1	Yes
Hawaii	52.5	53.3	No
Idaho	39.2	NA	No
Illinois	44.1	59.1	Yes
Indiana	33.0	NA	No
Iowa	49.2	65.5	Yes
Kansas	46.7	59.4	Yes
Kentucky	25.4	34.5	No
Louisiana	24.5	33.3	No
Maine	52.3 (72.0)	69.8	Yes
Maryland	44.5	52.8	Yes
Massachusetts	63.4	84.9	Yes
Michigan	80.4 (69.6)	69.3	Yes
Minnesota	68.6	91.5	Yes
Mississippi	15.5 (47.4)	NA	Yes
Missouri	36.0	NA	Yes
Montana	45.7	52.1	Yes
Nebraska	45.2	58.1	Yes
Nevada	36.8	NA	No
New Hampshire	51.2	60.3	No
New Jersey	52.1	69.9	Yes
New Mexico	33.3	NA	No
New York	64.1	79.6	Yes
North Carolina	33.4	45.2	Yes
North Dakota	58.6	56.1	No
Ohio	39.0	NA	Yes
Oklahoma	40.0	53.8	Yes
Oregon	51.2	68.3	Yes
Pennsylvania	47.1	54.8	Yes
Rhode Island	64.9	81.7	Yes
South Carolina	25.7 (50.0)	NA	Yes
South Dakota	31.7	NA	No
Tennessee	20.0 (45.5)	26.8	Yes
Texas	23.7	31.6	Yes
Utah	48.5 (89.4)	64.6	Yes
Vermont	70.7	78.5	Yes
Virginia	37.5	43.0	No
Washington	63.5	71.6	No
West Virginia	32.1	37.4	No
Wisconsin	60.1	83.5	No
Wyoming	46.5	NA	No

NA Not applicable.
+ Authorized, but no implementation date. Details unknown.
*But only for those between AFDC payment level and 85% federal poverty level.
**State medically needy income level exceeds 100% of poverty.

Maternal and Child Health

Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986

Expanded financial coverage: pregnant women and infants	*Expanded financial coverage: children over 1*	*Income eligibility: percentage of federal poverty*	*Asset test waived*	*Continuous eligibility for pregnant women*	*Presumptive eligibility*
Yes	No	100	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	75	No	Yes	Yes
NA**	NA**	NA**	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	No
Yes	No	100	Yes	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	Yes
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	Yes
No	No	NA	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
+	+	+	+	+	+
No	No	NA	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	Yes	100	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	No	100	Yes	Yes	Yes
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	No
No	No	NA	Yes	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	100	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	100	No	No	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	Yes
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	No	100	No	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	85	No	Yes*	No
Yes	Yes	100	No	No	Yes
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	Yes
Yes	No	100	Yes	Yes	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	Yes	100	No	Yes	No
+	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	Yes
Yes	Yes	100	No	Yes	No
No	No	NA	No	No	No
Yes	Yes	90	No	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	No
No	No	NA	No	No	Yes
No	No	NA	No	No	No

Earnings

Median Weekly Earnings of Full-time Wage and Salary Workers Ages 16 through 24 as a Percentage of Older Workers' Earnings, by Sex, 1967-1987

Time Period		Men	Women
1967	May	74.0	93.7
1969	May	73.0	93.2
1970	May	70.0	91.7
1971	May	66.3	87.4
1972	May	66.3	87.3
1973	May	67.0	85.1
1974	May	66.7	84.7
1975	May	64.3	80.1
1976	May	63.6	81.2
1977	May	61.8	80.6
1978	May	63.1	81.1
1979	Annual	64.5	77.6
1980	Annual	60.1	79.8
1981	Annual	59.1	77.6
1982	Annual	56.4	75.1
1983	Annual	55.1	76.4
1984	Annual	54.7	72.0
1985	Annual	54.3	70.9
1986	Annual	53.0	70.8
1987	3rd quarter	52.6	68.5

Note: Data prior to 1979 are May figures; from 1979 through 1986 are annual averages; and for 1987 are the averages for July, August and September.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, press release USDL 876472-434, "Usual Weekly Earnings of Wage and Salary Workers: Third Quarter 1987," October 29, 1987, table 1; Bulletin 2217, "Handbook of Labor Statistics," June 1985, table 41, page 94; and Bulletin 2070, "Handbook of Labor Statistics," December 1980, table 60, page 118. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Median Weekly Earnings of Full-time Wage and Salary Workers Ages 16 through 24 as a Percentage of Older Workers' Earnings, by Sex, Race and Ethnicity, 3rd Quarter, 1987

	Full-time Workers Age 16-24	Full-time Workers Age 25 up	Under 25 as a % of Age 25 up
Black	$ 205	$ 322	63.7 %
Male	212	366	57.9
Female	196	291	67.4
White	241	414	58.2
Male	257	486	52.9
Female	222	328	67.7
Hispanic	211	299	70.6
Male	215	334	64.4
Female	202	248	81.5
Total	236	404	58.4
Male	251	477	52.6
Female	220	321	68.5

Note: Hispanic persons may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, press release USDL 87-472, "Usual Weekly Earnings of Wage and Salary Workers: Third Quarter 1987," October 29, 1987, table 2. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Earnings

Full-Year, Full-Time Earnings at the Hourly Minimum Wage Rate as a Percent of the Three-Person Poverty Level, 1959-1987

Year	Hourly Minimum Wage Rate	Annual Wages, for 50 weeks, 40 hrs	Three-Person Family Poverty Level	Annual Wages as a % of Poverty
1962	1.15	2,300	2,412	95.4
1963	1.15	2,300	2,442	94.2
1964	1.25	2,500	2,413	103.6
1965	1.25	2,500	2,514	99.4
1966	1.25	2,500	2,600	96.2
1967	1.40	2,800	2,661	105.2
1968	1.60	3,200	2,774	115.4
1969	1.60	3,200	2,924	109.4
1970	1.60	3,200	3,099	103.3
1971	1.60	3,200	3,229	99.1
1972	1.60	3,200	3,339	95.8
1973	1.60	3,200	3,548	90.2
1974	2.00	4,000	3,936	101.6
1975	2.10	4,200	4,293	97.8
1976	2.30	4,600	4,540	101.3
1977	2.30	4,600	4,833	95.2
1978	2.65	5,300	5,201	101.9
1979	2.90	5,800	5,784	100.3
1980	3.10	6,200	6,565	94.4
1981	3.35	6,700	7,250	92.4
1982	3.35	6,700	7,693	87.1
1983	3.35	6,700	7,938	84.4
1984	3.35	6,700	8,277	80.9
1985	3.35	6,700	8,573	78.2
1986	3.35	6,700	8,737	76.7
1987	3.35	6,700	9,056	74.0
1988	3.35	6,700	9,418*	71.1
1989	3.35	6,700	9,795*	68.4

*Poverty levels for 1988 and 1989 are estimates, including 4 percent annual inflation.

Note: Minimum wage rates shown are those in effect for the greater part of each year; i.e., those in effect before July for the year.

Source: Social Security Administration, Social Security Bulletin, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1983, Washington, D.C., 1986, table 7, page 65; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986 (106th edition), Washington, D.C., table 710, page 422. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Percentage of Workers Paid on an Hourly Basis who Earned the Minimum Wage or Less in 1979 and 1986, and the Percentage in 1986 Earning Less than $4.50, the Inflation-Adjusted Value of the 1979 Minimum Wage of $2.90 per Hour

Race, Sex, & Age Group	1979 $2.90 or Less Hourly	1986 $3.35 or Less Hourly	1986 Under $4.50 Hourly
Total	13.3	8.8	26.0
Male	7.7	5.9	18.5
Female	20.2	11.9	34.0
White	12.8	8.6	25.4
Black	16.9	10.3	30.1
Hispanic	n/a	9.8	29.4
Age 16-19	37.3	32.3	74.7
Male	29.5	27.5	69.1
Female	45.9	37.1	80.4
White	36.3	31.5	74.2
Black	48.7	41.5	81.2
Hispanic	n/a	36.1	74.1
Age 20-24	13.7	11.7	36.5
Male	8.3	8.3	29.4
Female	20.6	15.5	44.5
White	12.9	11.1	35.0
Black	19.2	16.1	46.9
Hispanic	n/a	10.6	37.7
Age 25-up	8.4	4.9	16.8
Male	3.3	2.4	9.1
Female	14.6	7.6	25.1
White	7.7	4.7	15.9
Black	12.8	6.4	22.3
Hispanic	n/a	6.8	22.3

Note: In 1979 the minimum wage was $2.90 per hour. In 1986 it was $3.35 per hour. Adjusted for inflation, $2.90 per hour in 1979 would be equal to $4.58 in 1986. Department of Labor data show hourly wages below $4.50 per hour. Hispanic persons may be of any race. Comparable Hispanic data were not tabulated for 1979 in the unpublished source.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished tabulations from the Current Population Survey. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

AFDC

AFDC Recipient Children per 100 Children in Poverty, 1972-1986

Year	Number of Children on AFDC[a]	Number of Children in Poverty[b]	Rate per 100 Children in Poverty[c]
1972	7,905,000	10,082,000	78.4
1973	7,902,000	9,453,000	83.6
1974	7,822,000	9,967,000	78.5
1975	8,095,000	10,882,000	74.4
1976	8,001,000	10,081,000	79.4
1977	7,773,000	10,028,000	77.5
1978	7,402,000	9,722,000	76.1
1979	7,179,000	9,993,000	71.8
1980	7,419,000	11,114,000	66.8
1981	7,527,000	12,068,000	62.4
1982	6,903,000	13,139,000	52.5
1983	7,098,000	13,427,000	52.9
1984	7,144,000	12,929,000	55.3
1985	7,198,000	12,483,000	57.7
1986	7,333,801	12,257,000	59.8

[a] The number of dependent children in active payment status on AFDC per month averaged over the 12 months in the calendar year.

[b] The number of related dependent children living in families with incomes, in the calendar year labeled, below the poverty level.

[c] The first column divided by the second column multiplied by 100. It is not meant to imply that all or only children in below poverty-level families are eligible for AFDC benefits. Because the poverty count is based on the living arrangements of children in March of the year after the one for which family income is calculated, many children will appear above and below poverty, when that was not in fact true for the families with which the child lived in the previous calendar year. Many children living in families below poverty are not eligible for AFDC because of low state payment levels, or limitations on earnings or assets.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 157, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1986 (Advance Data from the March 1987 Current Population Survey)," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., July 1987, table 16, page 24; Social Security Administration, Social Security Bulletin: Annual Supplement, 1983, Washington, D.C., 1986, table 5.3, page 248; and unpublished data from the Office of Family Assistance. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Monthly AFDC and Food Stamp Benefits, by State, July 1987[a]
(Ranked as Percentage of Census Bureau's 1986 Federal Poverty Level)

State	Maximum AFDC Benefit for Three-Person Family[b]	Monthly Combined AFDC & Food Stamp Benefits for Three-Person Family[c]	% of 1986 Monthly Federal Poverty Level[d]	Rank[e]
Alabama	$118	$332	45.6%	46
Alaska	749	946	104.0	1
Arizona	293	493	67.7	31
Arkansas	202	416	57.1	39
California	633	731	100.4	2
Colorado	346	530	72.8	27
Connecticut	601	709	97.4	4
Delaware	310	505	69.4	29
District of Columbia	364	543	74.6	22
Florida	264	473	65.0	35
Georgia	263	472	64.8	36
Hawaii	491	785	93.8	5
Idaho	304	501	68.8	30
Illinois	342	533	73.2	26
Indiana	288	490	67.3	32
Iowa	381	555	76.2	18
Kansas	409	578	79.4	15
Kentucky	197	411	56.5	41
Louisiana	190	404	55.5	42
Maine	405	571	78.4	16
Maryland	359	557	76.5	17
Massachusetts	510	645	88.6	10
Michigan	427	601	82.6	13
Minnesota	532	660	90.7	7
Mississippi	120	334	45.9	45
Missouri	282	485	66.6	34
Montana	359	539	74.0	24
Nebraska	350	533	73.2	26
Nevada	285	487	66.9	33
New Hampshire	486	628	86.3	11
New Jersey	424	592	81.3	14
New Mexico	264	473	65.0	35
New York	497	652	89.6	8
North Carolina	259	469	64.4	37
North Dakota	371	548	75.3	20
Ohio	309	508	69.8	28
Oklahoma	310	505	69.4	29
Oregon	412	612	84.1	12
Pennsylvania	382	555	76.2	18
Rhode Island	479	628	86.3	11
South Carolina	200	414	56.9	40
South Dakota	366	544	74.7	21

Monthly AFDC and Food Stamp Benefits, by State, July 1987[a]
(Ranked as Percentage of Census Bureau's 1986 Federal Poverty Level)
(continued)

State	Maximum AFDC Benefit for a Three-Person Family[b]	Monthly Combined AFDC & Food Stamp Benefits for Three-Person Family[c]	% of 1986 Monthly Federal Poverty Level[d]	Rank[e]
Tennessee	$159	$373	51.2%	44
Texas	184	398	54.7	43
Utah	376	551	75.7	19
Vermont	603	710	97.5	3
Virginia	354	536	73.6	25
Washington	492	646	88.7	9
West Virginia	249	462	63.5	38
Wisconsin	549	672	92.3	6
Wyoming	360	540	74.2	23

[a] The source for the maximum benefit and poverty level calculations is "Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC): Need Standards, Payment Standards, and Maximum Benefits for Families With No Countable Income," September 28, 1987, CRS Report to Congress (87-799 EPW), Education and Public Welfare Division, Congressional Research Service (CRS), The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The specific assumptions made about AFDC and Food Stamp benefits and the poverty threshold by the Congressional Research Service in its calculations are described in the following footnotes. The reader's attention is directed to the fact that these assumptions differ from those used by CDF in the AFDC appendices in earlier editions of the Children's Defense Budget. Therefore benefit levels and state rankings from previous years cannot be contrasted with those reported here. The CRS figures are those generally used by congressional committees in their welfare work and therefore for consistency are used here.

[b] Data on maximum AFDC benefits were collected by the Congressional Research Service at the Library of Congress. This figure is the maximum amount paid under the AFDC program for a one-parent family of three persons with zero countable income. In states with area differentials in benefits, the figure shown is for the area with the highest benefit.

[c] Food stamp calculations were done by the Congressional Research Service at the Library of Congress and are based on maximum AFDC benefits for a three-person nonworking family as shown, assuming the standard deduction of $99 plus $149 maximum allowable deduction for excess shelter costs. They take into account the fact that food stamps are reduced $.30 for every dollar for AFDC income. Maximum monthly food stamp benefits for a family of three in July 1987 were $214 in all states and the District of Columbia, except Alaska and Hawaii where they were $293 and $336, respectively. In the ten states where part of the AFDC payment is designated as energy aid, this amount is disregarded for food stamp purposes. The states are Illinois ($18), Kansas ($12), Maryland ($59), Michigan ($46), New Jersey ($25), New York ($53),

Ohio ($14), Oregon ($118), Rhode Island ($17), and Washington ($46). (CDF in the past assumed no shelter deduction for purposes of its food stamp calculations.)

[d] The Congressional Research Service at the Library of Congress in its calculations uses the Census Bureau's 1986 federal poverty threshold for a family of three of $8,738 (converted to a monthly rate of $728) for all states (except Alaska and Hawaii) and the District of Columbia. For Alaska and Hawaii the 1986 monthly federal poverty level for a three person family was increased by CRS by 25 and 15 percent, respectively. (In contrast, CDF in the past has used the poverty income guidelines issued by the Department of Health and Human Services which reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index and are used for determining a person or family's financial eligibility for services, rather than the Census Bureau poverty level which lags a year behind. The HHS poverty income guidelines applicable in July 1987 were $775 a month for a family of three.)

[e] States with the same combined AFDC and Food Stamp benefit are given the same rank.

AFDC Maximum Benefit and Need Standard for a Three-Person Family by State[a]

State	Maximum AFDC Benefit[b]		Standard of Need[c]	
	July 1986	July 1987	July 1987	Percent of Need Paid[d]
Alabama	$118	$118	$384	30.7
Alaska	740	749	749	100.0
Arizona	293	293	621	47.2
Arkansas	192	202	695	29.1
California	617	633	633	100.0
Colorado	346	346	421	82.2
Connecticut	590	601	601	100.0
Delaware	298	310	310	100.0
District of Columbia	350	364	712	51.1
Florida	252	264	775	34.1
Georgia	256	263	366	71.9
Hawaii	468	491	491	100.0
Idaho	304	304	554	54.9
Illinois	341	342	689	49.6
Indiana	256	288	320	90.0
Iowa	381	381	497	76.7
Kansas	403	409	409	100.0
Kentucky	197	197	197	100.0
Louisiana	190	190	610	31.1
Maine	389	405	558	72.6
Maryland	345	359	497	72.2
Massachusetts	476	510	510	100.0
Michigan	442	457	666	68.6
Minnesota	528	532	532	100.0
Mississippi	120	120	368	32.6
Missouri	279	282	312	90.4
Montana	354	359	434	82.7
Nebraska	350	350	350	100.0
Nevada	285	285	285	100.0
New Hampshire	397	486	486	100.0
New Jersey	404	424	424	100.0
New Mexico	258	264	264	100.0
New York	497	602	602	100.0
North Carolina	246	259	518	50.0
North Dakota	371	371	371	100.0
Ohio	302	309	674	45.8
Oklahoma	310	310	471	65.8
Oregon	397	412	412	100.0
Pennsylvania	382	382	614	62.2
Rhode Island	441	479	479	100.0
South Carolina	199	200	388	51.5
South Dakota	366	366	366	100.0
Tennessee	155	159	353	45.0
Texas	184	184	574	32.0
Utah	376	376	693	54.3
Vermont	572	603	889	67.8
Virginia	354	354	393	90.1
Washington	492	492	835	58.9
West Virginia	249	249	497	50.1
Wisconsin	544	549	647	84.8
Wyoming	360	360	360	100.0

[a] The source for the July 1987 AFDC maximum benefit levels and standards of need is "Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC): Need Standards, Payment Standards, and Maximum Benefits for Families With No Countable Income," September 28, 1987, CRS Report to Congress (87-799 EPW), Education and Public Welfare Division, Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The July 1986 levels were obtained from a July 31, 1986 Analysis of AFDC prepared by the Education and Public Welfare Division of the Congressional Research Service.

[b] The maximum benefit is the maximum amount paid under the AFDC Program for a one-parent family of three persons with zero countable income. In states with area differentials in benefits, the figure shown is for the area with the highest benefit.

[c] The standard of need is the amount of money a state determines a family of a given size (in this case a three-person family) needs to achieve a minimal standard of living in that state. Each state sets its own need standard and can determine the extent to which its AFDC benefits will meet that need. Since 1981, federal law has required that a state's need standard be used to determine a family's initial eligibility for AFDC. A family whose gross income exceeds 185 percent of a state's standard of need cannot qualify for AFDC in that state.

[d] Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

AFDC

Status of State Choices Regarding Optional AFDC Coverage, 1986[a]

	AFDC for Pregnant Women With No Other Children Beginning in 6th Month or Later in Pregnancy[b]	AFDC for Poor Two-Parent Unemployed Families[c]	AFDC for Students Age 18[d]	AFDC Emergency Assistance Program[e]
Alabama	No	No	No	No
Alaska	7th*	No	No	No
Arizona	6th	No	Yes	No
Arkansas	No	No	No	Yes
California	6th*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Colorado	6th*	No	Yes	No
Connecticut	6th	Yes	Yes	No
Delaware	9th	Yes	No	Yes
District of Columbia	6th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Florida	6th	No	No	No
Georgia	No	No	No	Yes
Hawaii	6th	Yes	Yes	No
Idaho	6th	No	Yes	No
Illinois	6th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Indiana	No	No	No	No
Iowa	No	Yes	Yes	No
Kansas	6th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kentucky	No	No	Yes	No
Louisiana	6th	No	Yes	No
Maine	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Maryland	6th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Massachusetts	6th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Michigan	6th*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Minnesota	7th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mississippi	No	No	No	No
Missouri	No	Yes	Yes	No
Montana	6th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nebraska	6th*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nevada	6th	No	Yes	No
New Hampshire	No	No	Yes	No
New Jersey	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
New Mexico	6th	No	Yes	No
New York	6th*	Yes	Yes	Yes
North Carolina	6th	No	Yes	No
North Dakota	6th	No	Yes	No
Ohio	6th*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Oklahoma	No	No	Yes	Yes
Oregon	9th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pennsylvania	6th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rhode Island	6th	Yes	Yes	No
South Carolina	No	Yes	Yes	No
South Dakota	No	No	Yes	No
Tennessee	7th	No	No	No
Texas	No	No	Yes	No
Utah	6th*	No	Yes	No

Status of State Choices Regarding Optional AFDC Coverage, 1986[a] (continued)

	AFDC for Pregnant Women With No Other Children Beginning in 6th Month or Later in Pregnancy[b]	AFDC for Poor Two-Parent Unemployed Families[c]	AFDC for Students Age 18[d]	AFDC Emergency Assistance Program[e]
Vermont	6th	Yes	Yes	Yes
Virginia	No	No	Yes	Yes
Washington	7th	Yes	Yes	Yes
West Virginia	No	Yes	No	Yes
Wisconsin	7th*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wyoming	6th	No	Yes	Yes

[a] Data on state choices regarding optional AFDC coverage were taken from states' October 1, 1986, state AFDC plans, as reported in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Family Support Administration, Office of Family Assistance, Characteristics of State Plans for Aid to Families With Dependent Children, 1987 Edition, Washington, D.C.

[b] Federal matching payments for AFDC for pregnant women with no other children are available no earlier than the sixth month of a medically verified pregnancy. States have the option of providing AFDC beginning in the sixth month or later, or not at all. The District of Columbia and eight states (California, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, Rhode Island, and Washington) also use state funds to provide cash assistance at the AFDC rate prior to the sixth month.

*States also have the option of providing special allowances to AFDC recipients to assist with expenses related to their pregnancy. The nine states noted with an asterisk offered allowances for special nutritional needs related to pregnancy or other special pregnancy-related expenses as of October 1986. The amounts ranged from $5.00 a month in Colorado to $70.00 a month in California and Nebraska.

[c] States have the option of providing AFDC to otherwise eligible two-parent families where the principal earner is unemployed, or working less than 100 hours a month, and meets the program's prior work history requirements.

[d] Eligibility for AFDC generally ends on a child's eighteenth birthday. However, states have the option of providing AFDC to children to age 19 provided they are full-time students in a secondary school or equivalent technical program and expected to complete the program before reaching age 19.

[e] States have the option of providing emergency assistance for no more than 30 days per calendar year to AFDC families and other needy families with children. The federal government pays half the cost of emergency assistance benefits and administration.

Nutrition

Women and Children Served with Federal and State WIC Funds

State	*Number of eligible women and children, 1984*	*Number served with federal WIC funds, July 1987*	*Number served with state WIC funds, October 1987*
Alabama	172,345	76,741	NA
Alaska	14,888	5,834	Contingency funds**
Arizona	109,554	56,295	Contingency funds**
Arkansas	109,166	36,831	NA
California	778,857	276,380	NA
Colorado	84,750	39,159	NA
Connecticut	64,360	43,791	NA
Delaware	18,305	7,347	NA
District of Columbia	19,036	11,246	*
Florida	299,461	119,354	NA
Georgia	229,471	106,701	NA
Hawaii	38,892	10,574	NA
Idaho	52,249	16,548	NA
Illinois	319,732	160,394	12,000
Indiana	167,976	70,845	*
Iowa	85,359	33,740	Contingency funds**
Kansas	75,609	27,954	NA
Kentucky	153,900	70,140	NA
Louisiana	188,736	91,508	NA
Maine	43,267	19,345	NA
Maryland	98,209	40,702	NA
Massachusetts	132,164	55,433	13,240
Michigan	256,550	127,339	Program administration***
Minnesota	107,351	55,704	1,068
Mississippi	143,400	92,458	NA
Missouri	157,275	58,432	NA
Montana	31,208	13,429	NA
Nebraska	51,765	19,729	NA
Nevada	21,038	12,910	NA
New Hampshire	24,514	13,222	NA
New Jersey	173,250	74,144	Contingency funds**
New Mexico	68,241	26,419	NA
New York	558,005	252,077	44,000
North Carolina	216,919	106,018	NA
North Dakota	25,388	13,223	NA
Ohio	313,828	179,047	NA
Oklahoma	115,205	49,772	NA
Oregon	80,379	34,305	NA
Pennsylvania	307,322	154,849	22,166
Rhode Island	24,910	13,773	Contingency funds**
South Carolina	133,738	77,727	NA
South Dakota	33,960	13,553	NA
Tennessee	175,147	75,337	NA
Texas	580,213	225,045	12,114****
Utah	91,702	33,013	NA
Vermont	18,507	15,042	NA
Virginia	158,595	69,350	NA
Washington	119,679	41,336	Program administration***
West Virginia	69,930	28,181	NA
Wisconsin	122,602	60,028	3,863
Wyoming	13,141	8,367	NA

NA Not applicable.
*State has appropriated funds; number of participants is not available.
**State WIC funds are available in the event that the federal WIC grant is overspent.
***State WIC appropriation is for program administration and nutrition services, not food benefits.
****September 1987.

Source: USDA, Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, and state WIC agencies.

Percentage of Recent 16- to 24-Year-Old High School Graduates who Were Enrolled in College, by Race, 1977-1986

Enrolled in college in October:	Total	White	Black	Hispanic
1977	51%	51%	50%	51%
1978	50	50	46	43
1979	49	50	46	45
1980	49	50	43	53
1981	54	55	43	52
1982	51	52	36	43
1983	53	55	39	54
1984	55	58	40	44
1985	58	59	42	51
1986	54	56	37	44

Note: Hispanic graduates may be of any race. The number of Hispanic graduates in the sample is too small for reliable estimation.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, press release, USDL 87-227, "Nearly Half of College Freshmen also Hold A Job or are Looking for One," June 9, 1987, table 1; Sharon R. Cohany, "What happened to the high school class of 1985?", Monthly Labor Review, volume 109, number 10, table 2, page 29 (October 1986); Anne McDougall Young, "Fewer students in work force as school age population declines," Monthly Labor Review, volume 106, number 8, table 5, page 32 (August 1983); corrected and unpublished data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Chapter 1 Recipient Children per 100 School-Age Children in Poverty, 1980-1985

Year	Chapter I Recipient Children	School-age Children In Poverty	Recipients per 100 Poor School-Age Children
1980	5,402,000	7,187,000	75
1981	5,301,000	8,069,000	66
1982	4,866,000	8,682,000	56
1983	4,750,000	9,407,000	50
1984	4,846,000	9,334,000	52
1985	4,919,000	9,140,000	54

Note: Children are counted in March of the year stated on the basis of income in the previous calendar year.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Report, Series P-60, No. 154, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1985 (Advance Data From the March 1986 Current Population Survey)," Washington, D.C., August 1986, table 18, page 27, and previous issues; unpublished data from U.S. Department of Education.

Youth Employment

Percentage of Youths Ages 16-19 who Are Employed, by Race 1978-1987

Year	Total	White	Black	Hispanic
1978	48.3	52.4	25.2	39.3
1979	48.5	52.6	25.4	40.6
1980	46.6	50.7	23.9	39.0
1981	44.6	48.7	22.1	35.2
1982	41.4	45.8	19.0	31.4
1983	41.5	45.9	18.7	32.5
1984	43.7	48.0	21.9	35.9
1985	44.4	48.5	24.6	33.7
1986	44.6	48.8	25.1	33.0
Nov. 1987	43.3	46.8	26.9	35.3

Note: November 1987 rates are not seasonally adjusted. Hispanic persons may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 2217, table 8, Washington, D.C., 1985; Employment and Earnings, Volume 34, No. 12, December 1987, table A-7; previous January issues, table 39. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Official Youth Unemployment Rates by State, 1986

State	Rate	State	Rate
Alabama	28.6	Missouri	16.0
Alaska	19.8	Montana	16.6
Arizona	14.3	Nebraska	11.2
Arkansas	21.1	Nevada	17.1
California	18.1	New Hampshire	8.4
Colorado	21.2	New Jersey	12.8
Connecticut	8.9	New Mexico	22.9
Delaware	11.9	New York	18.0
		North Carolina	17.1
District of Columbia	27.7	North Dakota	14.4
Florida	18.4	Ohio	18.8
Georgia	19.7	Oklahoma	20.8
Hawaii	17.5	Oregon	16.6
Idaho	18.5	Pennsylvania	17.2
Illinois	20.2	Rhode Island	10.5
Indiana	19.8	South Carolina	18.5
Iowa	12.6	South Dakota	10.3
Kansas	15.0	Tennessee	22.4
Kentucky	20.2	Texas	23.1
Louisiana	31.4	Utah	11.9
Maine	14.3	Vermont	13.7
Maryland	12.4	Virginia	19.0
Massachusetts	9.5	Washington	23.1
Michigan	21.1	West Virginia	20.1
Minnesota	12.8	Wisconsin	16.3
Mississippi	34.4	Wyoming	21.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1986, Bulletin 2279, Washington, D.C., table 12.

Adolescent Pregnancy

Birth Rates by Age of Mother and Race/Ethnicity of Child, 1970-1985 (Births per 1,000)

Race/Ethnicity and Year	Under 15	Total 15-19	15-17	18-19	20-24
All Races					
1970	1.2	68.3	38.8	114.7	167.8
1980	1.1	53.0	32.5	82.1	115.1
1985	1.2	51.3	31.1	80.8	108.9
White					
1970	0.5	57.4	29.2	101.5	163.4
1980	0.6	44.7	25.2	72.1	109.5
1985	0.6	42.8	24.0	70.1	102.8
Black					
1970	5.2	147.7	101.4	204.9	202.7
1980	4.3	100.0	73.6	138.8	146.3
1985	4.5	97.4	69.8	137.1	140.8
Hispanic					
1980	1.7	82.2	52.2	126.9	156.4
Mexican	1.9	95.6	----	-----	176.8
Puerto Rican	2.3	83.0	----	-----	133.3
Cuban	0.3	25.3	----	-----	80.2
Other Hispanics[a]	0.9	52.3	----	-----	123.7

[a]Includes Central and South American, plus others.
Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Birth Rates to Unmarried Women by Age of Mother and Race/Ethnicity of Child, 1970-1985 (Births per 1,000)

Race/Ethnicity and Year	Total 15-19	15-17	18-19	20-24
All Races				
1970	22.4	17.1	32.9	38.4
1980	27.6	20.6	39.0	40.9
1985	31.6	22.5	46.6	46.8
White				
1970	10.9	7.5	17.6	22.5
1980	16.2	11.8	23.6	24.4
1985	20.5	14.2	30.9	30.9
Black				
1970	96.9	77.9	136.4	131.5
1980	89.2	69.6	120.2	115.1
1985	88.8	67.0	121.1	116.1
Hispanic				
1980	39.7	28.3	60.5	76.5
Mexican	41.8	29.9	63.9	79.5
Puerto Rican	62.4	43.9	96.8	114.1
Cuban	6.6	4.3	10.6	14.0
Other Hispanic[a]	27.0	18.6	41.1	58.6

[a]Includes Central and South American, plus others.
Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Births to Mothers Under Age 20 as a Percentage of Total Births, by Race, U.S., Selected Years, 1950-1985

Year	*All Races*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	
			Black	*Total*
1950	11.94	10.46	21.72	21.22
1955	12.10	10.83	19.05	19.56
1960	13.94	12.79	—	20.25
1961	14.27	13.17	—	20.18
1962	14.58	13.62	—	20.62
1963	14.49	13.40	—	21.18
1964	14.73	13.26	23.11	22.25
1965	15.92	14.28	25.16	23.95
1966	17.45	15.62	27.78	26.39
1967	17.18	14.98	29.46	27.91
1968	17.15	14.75	30.83	29.05
1969	17.08	14.62	31.04	29.21
1970	17.59	15.13	31.29	29.45
1971	17.98	15.44	31.67	29.65
1972	19.28	16.51	33.82	31.48
1973	19.66	16.84	34.44	31.95
1974	19.24	16.50	33.85	31.29
1975	18.91	16.26	32.90	30.34
1976	18.01	15.51	31.21	28.72
1977	17.15	14.74	29.72	27.34
1978	16.62	14.34	28.47	26.01
1979	16.03	13.82	27.50	25.07
1980	15.56	13.53	26.48	23.84
1981	14.79	12.86	25.29	22.63
1982	14.22	12.32	24.62	21.86
1983	13.71	11.78	24.25	21.35
1984	13.01	11.11	23.64	20.75
1985	12.71	10.79	23.04	20.14

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Percent of Births to Mothers Under 20, By Race, 1985

White

Rank	*State*	*Percent*
1	District of Columbia	5.2
2	New Jersey	6.5
3	Hawaii	6.5
4	Minnesota	6.7
5	Alaska	6.7
6	North Dakota	6.7
7	Connecticut	7.3
8	Massachusetts	7.8
9	South Dakota	8.0
10	New York	8.0
11	Nebraska	8.0
12	New Hampshire	8.3
13	Wisconsin	8.3
14	Montana	8.4
15	Maryland	8.5
16	Utah	8.7
17	Illinois	8.9
18	Iowa	8.9
19	Pennsylvania	9.5
20	Virginia	9.6
21	Delaware	9.7
22	Rhode Island	9.8
23	Michigan	9.8
24	Vermont	9.8
25	Washington	9.8
26	Colorado	9.9
27	Idaho	10.3
28	Oregon	10.4
29	Kansas	10.5
30	Nevada	10.6
31	California	10.7
32	Florida	10.7
33	Wyoming	11.2
34	Missouri	11.4
35	Ohio	11.5
36	Maine	11.7
37	Indiana	12.6
38	South Carolina	12.7
39	North Carolina	12.9
40	Arizona	13.0
41	Louisiana	13.1
42	Georgia	13.8
43	Oklahoma	14.1
44	Texas	14.2
45	Alabama	14.4
46	Mississippi	14.5
47	Tennessee	14.9
48	New Mexico	15.1
49	Arkansas	16.1
50	West Virginia	17.0
51	Kentucky	17.0
	United States	10.8

Black

Rank	*State*	*Percent*
1	Hawaii	6.7
2	Alaska	10.4
3	Utah	16.1
4	Washington	17.0
5	Colorado	17.4
6	New York	17.8
7	California	18.0
8	Oregon	18.5
9	Massachusetts	18.6
10	New Mexico	20.2
11	Arizona	20.6
12	Maryland	21.1
13	District of Columbia	21.1
14	West Virginia	21.2
15	Kansas	21.3
16	Virginia	21.4
17	Minnesota	21.5
18	Iowa	22.5
19	Rhode Island	22.8
20	Texas	23.4
21	Nebraska	23.5
22	Connecticut	23.6
23	Nevada	23.7
24	Michigan	23.8
25	North Carolina	23.8
26	South Carolina	23.9
27	Oklahoma	23.9
28	New Jersey	24.0
29	Kentucky	24.0
30	Florida	24.1
31	Louisiana	24.1
32	Georgia	24.3
33	Ohio	24.4
34	Pennsylvania	24.7
35	Alabama	24.9
36	Tennessee	25.0
37	Missouri	25.5
38	Illinois	26.3
39	Indiana	27.0
40	Delaware	27.8
41	Mississippi	28.2
42	Wisconsin	29.3
43	Arkansas	29.4
	United States	23.0

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births to Teens that Were Low Birthweight, Total, 1985

Rank	State	Percent
1	New Hampshire	5.8
2	North Dakota	6.0
3	Alaska	6.9
4	Washington	6.9
5	Montana	7.1
6	Oregon	7.2
7	South Dakota	7.3
8	Minnesota	7.3
9	California	7.7
10	Arizona	7.9
11	Idaho	7.9
12	Iowa	8.0
13	Maine	8.0
14	Kansas	8.0
15	Hawaii	8.4
16	Kentucky	8.4
17	Wisconsin	8.5
18	Oklahoma	8.5
19	Massachusetts	8.5
20	Indiana	8.7
21	Texas	8.8
22	Nebraska	8.8
23	Vermont	8.8
24	New Mexico	8.9
25	West Virginia	9.0
26	Nevada	9.2
27	Pennsylvania	9.3
28	Rhode Island	9.3
29	Ohio	9.4
30	Utah	9.4
31	Michigan	9.5
32	Virginia	9.7
33	New York	9.7
34	Wyoming	9.8
35	Missouri	9.9
36	Tennessee	10.0
37	Arkansas	10.1
38	Illinois	10.2
39	Florida	10.3
40	Alabama	10.3
41	North Carolina	10.4
42	New Jersey	10.4
43	Georgia	10.5
44	Colorado	10.5
45	Connecticut	10.8
46	Maryland	10.9
47	Delaware	11.0
48	Louisiana	11.1
49	South Carolina	11.3
50	Mississippi	11.8
51	District of Columbia	15.3
	United States	9.3

Percent of All Births that Were to Mothers Under 20, All Cities of 500,000+ Population, Total, 1985

Rank	City	Percent
1	Staten Island	5.8
2	San Francisco	7.5
3	Queens	8.0
4	San Diego	9.6
5	San Jose	10.2
6	Manhattan	10.7
7	New York City*	11.6
8	Los Angeles	12.3
9	Brooklyn	12.7
10	Boston	13.3
11	Columbus	14.7
12	Phoenix	15.1
13	Houston	15.5
14	Bronx	16.0
15	Jacksonville	16.3
16	Indianapolis	16.7
17	District of Columbia	17.8
18	Milwaukee	18.0
19	New Orleans	18.1
20	Philadelphia	18.2
21	San Antonio	18.2
22	Chicago	18.5
23	Memphis	18.7
24	Dallas	19.3
25	Cleveland	20.1
26	Detroit	20.3
27	Baltimore	22.7
	United States	12.7

*These tables include data on low-birthweight births for New York City as a whole and, in addition, break out the data for the five boroughs of the city of New York (Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island).

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births to Teen Mothers who Received Early Prenatal Care, Total, 1985

Rank	*State*	*Percent*
1	Maine	66.5
2	Utah	65.9
3	Iowa	65.7
4	Rhode Island	65.4
5	New Hampshire	62.5
6	Louisiana	62.3
7	Wyoming	61.3
8	Ohio	61.1
9	Massachusetts	60.9
10	Wisconsin	60.6
11	North Dakota	60.4
12	Michigan	60.1
13	Kansas	59.7
14	Kentucky	59.0
15	Montana	58.7
16	Vermont	58.7
17	Missouri	58.5
18	Idaho	58.5
19	Mississippi	58.1
20	Connecticut	57.2
21	Virginia	57.1
22	Maryland	57.0
23	Delaware	56.9
24	Hawaii	56.5
25	North Carolina	56.4
26	Indiana	56.4
27	California	55.9
28	Alaska	55.3
29	Georgia	54.9
30	Minnesota	54.7
31	Washington	54.7
32	New Jersey	54.6
33	Illinois	54.3
34	Nebraska	54.1
35	Tennessee	53.9
36	Pennsylvania	53.6
37	South Dakota	52.3
38	Arizona	52.0
39	Colorado	51.9
40	Alabama	50.5
41	Oregon	50.2
42	West Virginia	49.8
43	Oklahoma	49.8
44	Nevada	49.2
45	Arkansas	48.0
46	New York	45.3
47	Texas	44.9
48	South Carolina	42.5
49	Florida	41.0
50	District of Columbia	39.2
51	New Mexico	38.5
	United States	53.5

Percent of Births to Teen Mothers who Received Late or No Prenatal Care, Total, 1985

Rank	*State*	*Percent*
1	Maine	5.7
2	Iowa	5.8
3	Rhode Island	6.0
4	New Hampshire	6.4
5	Utah	7.2
6	Michigan	7.4
7	Ohio	7.9
8	Wisconsin	8.1
9	Massachusetts	8.3
10	Mississippi	8.3
11	Delaware	8.5
12	Vermont	8.6
13	North Dakota	8.7
14	Kentucky	9.0
15	Missouri	9.0
16	Wyoming	9.0
17	Louisiana	9.1
18	Montana	9.2
19	Hawaii	9.2
20	North Carolina	9.6
21	Alaska	9.6
22	Virginia	9.9
23	Kansas	10.0
24	Maryland	10.0
25	Nebraska	10.2
26	Minnesota	10.3
27	California	10.3
28	Georgia	10.4
29	Connecticut	10.4
30	Indiana	10.5
31	Tennessee	10.7
32	Illinois	10.7
33	Pennsylvania	11.5
34	Idaho	11.6
35	West Virginia	11.7
36	New Jersey	11.7
37	Washington	11.9
38	Alabama	12.0
39	Nevada	12.3
40	South Dakota	12.6
41	Colorado	13.0
42	Arkansas	13.1
43	Oklahoma	13.1
44	Oregon	13.6
45	Arizona	14.1
46	South Carolina	16.1
47	Florida	17.7
48	District of Columbia	18.9
49	New York	19.1
50	Texas	20.1
51	New Mexico	22.2
	United States	12.2

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Adolescent Pregnancy

Percent of Infants Born to Unmarried Mothers, Total, 1985

Rank	*State*	*Percent*
1	Utah	8.7
2	Idaho	10.8
3	North Dakota	11.5
4	Wyoming	13.3
5	New Hampshire	13.4
6	Iowa	13.6
7	Kansas	14.7
8	Nebraska	14.8
9	Minnesota	15.1
10	Nevada	15.6
11	Texas	16.4
12	Colorado	16.6
13	Montana	16.8
14	Vermont	17.1
15	Oklahoma	17.2
16	West Virginia	17.4
17	Maine	17.8
18	South Dakota	17.9
19	Michigan	18.1
20	Wisconsin	18.1
21	Alaska	18.2
22	Massachusetts	18.4
23	Washington	18.5
24	Kentucky	18.5
25	Oregon	18.7
26	Rhode Island	19.6
27	Indiana	19.8
28	Hawaii	19.9
29	Connecticut	21.3
30	Virginia	21.4
31	Missouri	21.6
32	Ohio	21.8
33	North Carolina	22.1
34	New Jersey	22.3
35	Arkansas	22.4
36	Pennsylvania	22.8
37	Arizona	23.9
38	Tennessee	24.3
39	California	24.6
40	Alabama	24.9
41	Georgia	25.7
42	Illinois	25.7
43	Florida	25.8
44	Delaware	26.2
45	New Mexico	26.3
46	South Carolina	26.4
47	New York	28.1
48	Louisiana	28.6
49	Maryland	29.1
50	Mississippi	32.9
51	District of Columbia	56.7
	United States	22.0

Percent of All Unmarried Mothers who Were Teens, Total, 1985

Rank	*State*	*Percent*
1	Alaska	25.1
2	California	26.4
3	New York	26.7
4	District of Columbia	28.8
5	Connecticut	31.1
6	Hawaii	31.2
7	Maryland	31.3
8	Oregon	32.2
9	South Dakota	32.3
10	Washington	32.3
11	Massachusetts	32.7
12	Florida	32.7
13	Minnesota	33.0
14	Virginia	33.5
15	Montana	33.5
16	New Jersey	33.6
17	Pennsylvania	33.8
18	New Mexico	33.8
19	Arizona	33.9
20	New Hampshire	34.2
21	Vermont	34.5
22	Illinois	34.6
23	Nevada	34.9
24	Colorado	35.4
25	Idaho	35.6
26	North Dakota	35.7
27	Missouri	36.1
28	Nebraska	36.3
29	Wyoming	36.6
30	Delaware	36.8
31	Tennessee	36.9
32	Rhode Island	37.0
33	Utah	37.0
34	Ohio	37.2
35	Kansas	37.3
36	Iowa	37.4
37	Wisconsin	37.4
38	Michigan	37.8
39	Louisiana	37.9
40	Maine	38.0
41	Georgia	38.2
42	Texas	38.3
43	Kentucky	38.6
44	Oklahoma	39.2
45	Alabama	39.8
46	Indiana	39.9
47	North Carolina	39.9
48	South Carolina	40.4
49	West Virginia	41.7
50	Mississippi	42.3
51	Arkansas	42.7
	United States	33.8

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

State Title XX Child Care Funding, FY 1981 (Adjusted for Inflation) and FY 1987, and Change FY 1981-FY 1987

State	What FY 1987 child care funding levels would have to be to equal FY 1981 spending by the state adjusted for inflation	Actual FY 1987 spending on child care	Actual FY 1987 spending as a percentage of what funding levels would have to be to equal real 1981 spending
Alabama	$ 20,663,154	$ 8,602,000	41.6
Alaska*,**	3,973,655	7,687,775	193.5
Arizona	19,646,328	17,725,200	90.2
Arkansas	4,629,326	3,765,014	81.3
California*,**	285,660,000	319,215,369	111.7
Colorado	18,381,600	10,951,000	59.6
Connecticut	21,331,067	21,569,144	101.1
Delaware	5,322,046	3,602,699	67.7
District of Columbia	14,121,540	17,337,000	122.8
Florida	32,439,805	48,333,929	149.0
Georgia	25,562,664	19,244,430	75.3
Hawaii	3,645,778	1,755,606	48.2
Idaho^	N/A	59,012	N/A
Illinois	69,509,896	50,621,900	72.8
Indiana	10,548,306	10,005,646	94.9
Iowa	2,734,309	2,782,479	101.8
Kansas	10,982,759	4,595,130	41.8
Kentucky	4,657,500	7,952,695	170.8
Louisiana	12,944,638	7,538,127	58.2
Maine	4,648,731	4,494,670	96.7
Maryland	16,146,000	17,691,009	109.6
Massachusetts	53,406,008	70,273,282	131.6
Michigan	26,888,270	9,300,000	34.6
Minnesota	2,144,698	N/A	N/A
Mississippi	7,462,025	4,051,723	54.3

Child Care

State	What FY 1987 child care funding levels would have to be to equal FY 1981 spending by the state adjusted for inflation	Actual FY 1987 spending on child care	Actual FY 1987 spending as a percentage of what funding levels would have to be to equal real 1981 spending
Missouri	$ 3,863,917	$ 11,037,214	285.6
Montana*,**	266,674	280,500	105.2
Nebraska	4,736,839	4,738,542	100.1
Nevada	1,145,118	240,494	21.0
New Hampshire	3,763,260	3,641,401	96.8
New Jersey	45,742,115	37,546,590	82.1
New Mexico	2,990,529	4,409,900	147.5
New York**	154,877,400	164,831,120	106.4
North Carolina	23,582,240	27,576,446	116.9
North Dakota	666,604	130,500	19.6
Ohio	44,339,400	28,541,399	64.4
Oklahoma	18,633,394	17,202,173	92.3
Oregon*,**	3,669,792	5,681,765	154.8
Pennsylvania**	76,177,978	68,139,000	89.4
Rhode Island	4,732,020	1,841,832	38.9
South Carolina	14,315,175	12,620,563	88.2
South Dakota	1,440,444	0	0.0
Tennessee	17,611,560	13,581,600	77.1
Texas	41,236,615	33,900,000	82.2
Utah	5,924,464	8,628,481	145.6
Vermont	1,437,714	3,411,300	237.3
Virginia**	10,056,416	3,748,099	37.3
Washington	5,961,600	13,000,000	218.1
West Virginia	8,890,560	5,392,240	60.7
Wisconsin	9,837,460	10,216,718	103.9
Wyoming	1,117,800	1,754,552	157.0

Notes:

+ An inflation factor of 24.2 percent was used to calculate the figures. Calculations were based on July 1987, so final inflation figures for FY 1987 ending in October 1987 were unavailable. The figure 24.2 percent was calculated with the assumption that the rate of inflation was the same in August as it was in September/October.

* State uses no federal Title XX/SSBG funds for child care; all funds are state monies.

^ 1981 data for Idaho are not available.

++ 1987 data for Minnesota are not available.

** Alaska, California, Montana, and Oregon do not spend any Title XX funds for child care, and amounts shown for them are not Title XX. Virginia's separate program for working parents is not included in its total. New York's total includes the range of state-funded child care programs because they cannot be separated from its Title XX funding. Pennsylvania's total includes the separate state-funded programs for resource and referral, school-age child care, migrant day care, and child care for teen parents.

APPENDIX B
INFORMATION ABOUT CONGRESS

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES WORKING ON CHILDREN'S ISSUES

SENATE

APPROPRIATIONS

118 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3471

Responsibilities: Item-by-item decisions on how much money to spend for each federal program each year.

Democrats

*John C. Stennis, Mississippi, Chairman
*Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia
*William Proxmire, Wisconsin
*Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii
*Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina
*Lawton Chiles, Florida
J. Bennett Johnston, Louisiana
*Quentin N. Burdick, North Dakota
Patrick J. Leahy, Vermont
Jim Sasser, Tennessee
Dennis DeConcini, Arizona
*Dale Bumpers, Arkansas
Frank R. Lautenberg, New Jersey
*Tom Harkin, Iowa
Barbara Mikulski, Maryland
Harry Reid, Nevada

Republicans

*Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon
*Ted Stevens, Alaska
*Lowell Weicker, Jr. Connecticut
*James A. McClure, Idaho
Jake Garn, Utah
Thad Cochran, Mississippi
Bob Kasten, Wisconsin
Alfonse M. D'Amato, New York
*Warren Rudman, New Hampshire
*Arlen Specter, Pennsylvania
*Pete V. Domenici, New Mexico
Charles E. Grassley, Iowa
Don Nickles, Oklahoma

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* Member of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies Subcommittee, chaired by Senator Lawton Chiles.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, continued

Budget

SD-621 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-0642

Responsibilities: Development of annual Congressional Budget Resolution which sets general revenue, spending and deficit targets for the fiscal year.

Democrats

Lawton Chiles, Florida, Chairman
Ernest Hollings, South Carolina
J. Bennett Johnston, Louisiana
Jim Sasser, Tennessee
Donald W. Riegle, Jr., Michigan
J. James Exon, Nebraska
Frank R. Lautenberg, New Jersey
Paul Simon, Illinois
Terry Sanford, North Carolina
Timothy E. Wirth, Colorado
Wyche Fowler, Jr. Georgia
Kent Conrad, North Dakota
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut

Republicans

Pete V. Domenici, New Mexico
William L. Armstrong, Colorado
Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Kansas
Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota
Steven Symms, Idaho
Charles Grassley, Iowa
Bob Kasten, Wisconsin
Dan Quayle, Indiana
John C. Danforth, Missouri
Dan Nickles, Oklahoma
Warren B. Rudman, New Hampshire

Finance

SD-205 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-4515

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight for all tax and revenue measures and a broad range of important children's programs, including: the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980; Medicaid and its Early Periodic Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment (EPSDT) component; Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); Title XX Social Services Block Grant; the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant (Title V); Child Support; Social Security; Supplemental Security Income (SSI); and Dependent Care Tax Credit.

Democrats

Lloyd Bentsen, Texas, Chairman
Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii
Daniel P. Moynihan, New York
Max Baucus, Montana
David L. Boren, Oklahoma
Bill Bradley, New Jersey
George J. Mitchell, Maine
David H. Pryor, Arkansas
Donald W. Riegle, Jr., Michigan
John D. Rockefeller, IV, West Virginia
Thomas A. Daschle, South Dakota

Republicans

Bob Packwood, Oregon
Robert Dole, Kansas
William V. Roth, Jr., Delaware
John C. Danforth, Missouri
John H. Chafee, Rhode Island
John Heinz, Pennsylvania
Malcolm Wallop, Wyoming
Dave Durenberger, Minnesota
William L. Armstrong, Colorado

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, continued

Labor and Human Resources

SD-428 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-5375

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight for a number of education, labor and social programs, including: Head Start, Chapter I education for disadvantaged children; Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment; Job Training and Partnership Act, and many others.

Democrats

Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts, Chairman
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island
Howard M. Metzenbaum, Ohio
Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut
Paul Simon, Illinois
Tom Harkin, Iowa
Brock Adams, Washington
Barbara A. Mikulski, Maryland

Republicans

Orrin G. Hatch, Utah
Robert T. Stafford, Vermont
Dan Quayle, Indiana
Strom Thurmond, South Carolina
Lowell Weicker, Jr., Connecticut
Thad Cochran, Mississippi
Gordon Humphrey, New Hampshire

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, continued

HOUSE

Appropriations

H-218 Capitol Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2771

Responsibilities: Item-by-item decisions on how much money to spend for federal programs each year.

Democrats

*Jamie L. Whitten, Mississippi, Chairman
Edward P. Boland, Massachusetts
*William H. Natcher, Kentucky
*Neal Smith, Iowa
Sidney R. Yates, Illinois
*David R. Obey, Wisconsin
*Edward R. Roybal, California
*Louis Stokes, Ohio
Tom Bevill, Alabama
Bill Chappell, Jr., Florida
Bill Alexander, Arkansas
John P. Murtha, Pennsylvania
Bob Traxler, Michigan
*Joseph D. Early, Massachusetts
Charles Wilson, Texas
Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs, Louisiana
Norman D. Dicks, Washington
Matthew F. McHugh, New York
William Lehman, Florida
Martin Olav Sabo, Minnesota
Julian C. Dixon, California
Vic Fazio, California
W.G. (Bill) Hefner, North Carolina
Les AuCoin, Oregon
Daniel K. Akaka, Hawaii
Wes Watkins, Oklahoma
William H. Gray, III, Pennsylvania
*Bernard J. Dwyer, New Jersey
*Steny H. Hoyer, Maryland
Bob Carr, Michigan
Robert J. Mrazek, New York
Richard J. Durbin, Illinois
Ronald D. Coleman, Texas
Alan Mollohan, West Virginia
Lindsay Thomas, Georgia

Republicans

*Silvio O. Conte, Massachusetts
Joseph M. McDade, Pennsylvania
John T. Myers, Indiana
Clarence E. Miller, Ohio
Lawrence Coughlin, Pennsylvania
*C.W. Bill Young, Florida
Jack F. Kemp, New York
Ralph Regula, Ohio
Virginia Smith, Nebraska
*Carl D. Pursell, Michigan
Mickey Edwards, Oklahoma
Bob Livingston, Louisiana
Bill Green, New York
Jerry Lewis, California
*John Edward Porter, Illinois
Harold Rogers, Kentucky
Joe Skeen, New Mexico
Frank R. Wolf, Virginia
Bill Lowery, California
*Vin Weber, Minnesota
Thomas DeLay, Texas
Jim Kolbe, Arizona

* Member of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman William H. Natcher.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, continued

Budget
214 House Office Building, Annex I
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 226-7200

Responsibilities: Development of annual Congressional Budget Resolution which sets general revenue, spending and deficit targets for the fiscal year.

Democrats

William H. Gray, III, Pennsylvania, Chair.
Thomas S. Foley, Washington
Mike Lowry, Washington
Butler Derrick, South Carolina
George Miller, California
Pat Williams, Montana
Howard Wolpe, Michigan
Martin Frost, Texas
Vic Fazio, California
Marty Russo, Illinois
Ed Jenkins, Georgia
Marvin Leath, Texas
Charles E. Schumer, New York
Barbara Boxer, California
Buddy MacKay, Florida
Jim Slattery, Kansas
Chester G. Atkins, Massachusetts
James L. Oberstar, Minnesota
Frank J. Guarini, New Jersey
Richard Durbin, Illinois
Mike Espy, Mississippi

Republicans

Delbert L. Latta, Ohio
Willis D. Gradison, Jr., Ohio
Connie Mack, Florida
William F. Goodling, Pennsylvania
Denny Smith, Oregon
Beau Boulter, Texas
Mickey Edwards, Oklahoma
William Thomas, California
Harold Rogers, Kentucky
Don Sundquist, Tennessee
Nancy Johnson, Connecticut
Richard Armey, Texas
Jack Buechner, Missouri
Amory Houghton, New York

Education and Labor
2181 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-4527

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight of education and labor programs, including: Head Start; Chapter I education for disadvantaged children; Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment; and many others.

Democrats

Augustus F. Hawkins, California, Chairman
William D. Ford, Michigan
Joseph M. Gaydos, Pennsylvania
William (Bill) Clay, Missouri
Mario Biaggi, New York
Austin J. Murphy, Pennsylvania
Dale E. Kildee, Michigan
Pat Williams, Montana
Matthew G. Martinez, California
Major Owens, New York
Charles A. Hayes, Illinois
Carl C. Perkins, Kentucky
Thomas C. Sawyer, Ohio
Stephen J. Solarz, New York
Robert Wise, West Virginia
Timothy J. Penny, Minnesota
Bill Richardson, New Mexico
Tommy Robinson, Arkansas
Peter Visclosky, Indiana
Chester G. Atkins, Massachusetts
James Jontz, Indiana

Republicans

James M. Jeffords, Vermont
William F. Goodling, Pennsylvania
E. Thomas Coleman, Missouri
Thomas E. Petri, Wisconsin
Marge Roukema, New Jersey
Steve Gunderson, Wisconsin
Steve Bartlett, Texas
Thomas J. Tauke, Iowa
Richard K. Armey, Texas
Harris W. Fawell, Illinois
Paul B. Henry, Michigan
Fred Grandy, Iowa
Cass Ballenger, North Carolina

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, continued

Energy and Commerce
2125 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2927

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight of Medicaid and other health programs, in addition to all energy, commerce, and environmental matters.

Democrats

*John D. Dingell, Michigan, Chairman
*James H. Scheuer, New York
*Henry A. Waxman, California
Philip R. Sharp, Indiana
James J. Florio, New Jersey
Edward J. Markey, Massachusetts
Thomas A. Luken, Ohio
*Doug Walgren, Pennsylvania
Al Swift, Washington
*Mickey Leland, Texas
*Cardiss Collins, Illinois
Mike Synar, Oklahoma
W.J. (Billy) Tauzin, Louisiana
*Ron Wyden, Oregon
*Ralph M. Hall, Texas
Dennis E. Eckart, Ohio
*Wayne Dowdy, Mississippi
Bill Richardson, New Mexico
Jim Slattery, Kansas
*Gerry Sikorski, Minnesota
John Bryant, Texas
*Jim Bates, California
Frederick C. Boucher, Virginia
James Cooper, Tennessee
*Terry L. Bruce, Illinois

Republicans

*Norman F. Lent, New York
*Edward R. Madigan, Illinois
Carlos J. Moorhead, California
Matthew J. Rinaldo, New Jersey
*William E. Dannemeyer, California
*Bob Whittaker, Kansas
*Thomas J. Tauke, Iowa
Don Ritter, Pennsylvania
*Dan Coats, Indiana
*Thomas J. Bliley, Jr., Virginia
*Jack Fields, Texas
Michael G. Oxley, Ohio
Howard C. Nielson, Utah
Michael Bilirakis, Florida
Dan Schaefer, Colorado
Joe L. Barton, Texas
Sonny Callahan, Alabama

* Member of Health and the Environment Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman Henry A. Waxman.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, continued

Ways and Means
1102 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3625

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight of all tax and revenue measures and a number of important children's programs, including: Title XX Social Services; the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980; Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); Child Support; Supplemental Security Income (SSI); Social Security; and Dependent Care Tax Credits.

Democrats

Dan Rostenkowski, Illinois, Chairman
Sam Gibbons, Florida
J.J. Pickle, Texas
Charles B. Rangel, New York
Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, California
Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Indiana
*Harold E. Ford, Tennessee
Ed Jenkins, Georgia
Richard Gephardt, Missouri
*Thomas J. Downey, New York
Frank J. Guarini, New Jersey
Marty Russo, Illinois
*Donald J. Pease, Ohio
*Robert T. Matsui, California
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas
Ronnie G. Flippo, Alabama
Byron L. Dorgan, North Dakota
*Barbara R. Kennelly, Connecticut
*Brian J. Donnelly, Massachusetts
William J. Coyne, Pennsylvania
*Mike Andrews, Texas
Sander Levin, Michigan
Jim Moody, Wisconsin

Republicans

John J. Duncan, Tennessee
Bill Archer, Texas
Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan
Philip M. Crane, Illinois
*Bill Frenzel, Minnesota
Richard T. Schulze, Pennsylvania
*Willis D. Gradison, Jr., Ohio
William M. Thomas, California
Raymond J. McGrath, New York
Hal Daub, Nebraska
Judd Gregg, New Hampshire
*Hank Brown, Colorado
*Rod Chandler, Washington

* Member of Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman Thomas J. Downey.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, continued

Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families
385 House Office Building, Annex 2
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 226-7660

Responsibilities: Study and review of problems of children, youth, and families and the development of policies that would encourage the coordination of both governmental and private programs designed to address these problems.

Democrats

George Miller, California, Chairman
William Lehman, Florida
Patricia Schroeder, Colorado
Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs, Louisiana
Matthew F. McHugh, New York
Ted Weiss, New York
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas
Barbara Boxer, California
Sander Levin, Michigan
Bruce A. Morrison, Connecticut
J. Roy Rowland, Georgia
Gerry Sikorski, Minnesota
Alan Wheat, Missouri
Matthew G. Martinez, California
Lane Evans, Illinois
Richard Durbin, Illinois
Thomas C. Sawyer, Ohio
David Skaggs, Colorado

Republicans

Dan Coats, Indiana
Thomas Bliley, Jr., Virginia
Frank Wolf, Virginia
Nancy Johnson, Connecticut
Barbara Vucanovich, Nevada
Jack Kemp, New York
George Wortley, New York
Ron Packard, California
Beau Boulter, Texas
J. Dennis Hastert, Illinois
Clyde C. Holloway, Louisiana
Fred Grandy, Iowa

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

This roster of congressional members is included to help you in contacting your representatives.

Mail to Senators may be addressed to:

The Honorable ___________________________
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Mail to Representatives may be addressed to:

The Honorable ___________________________
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Members can also be called. The Capitol Hill switchboard number is (202) 224-3121.

In the following list of members, Democrats are in roman type, Republicans in italic. The district number of each Representative is also provided.

MEMBERS OF THE 100TH CONGRESS

ALABAMA

Senate:
Howell Heflin
Richard C. Shelby

House:
1. *Sonny Callahan*
2. *William L. Dickinson*
3. Bill Nichols
4. Tom Bevill
5. Ronnie G. Flippo
6. Ben Erdreich
7. Claude Harris

ALASKA

Senate:
Ted Stevens
Frank H. Murkowski

House:
AL *Don Young*

ARIZONA

Senate:
Dennis DeConcini
John McCain

House:
1. *John J. Rhodes III*
2. Morris K. Udall
3. *Bob Stump*
4. *Jon Kyl*
5. *Jim Kolbe*

ARKANSAS

Senate:
Dale Bumpers
David Pryor

House:
1. Bill Alexander
2. Tommy F. Robinson
3. *John Paul Hammerschmidt*
4. Beryl Anthony Jr.

CALIFORNIA

Senate:
Alan Cranston
Pete Wilson

House:
1. Douglas H. Bosco
2. *Wally Herger*
3. Robert T. Matsui
4. Vic Fazio
5. Nancy Pelosi
6. Barbara Boxer
7. George Miller
8. Ronald V. Dellums
9. Fortney H. "Pete" Stark
10. Don Edwards
11. Tom Lantos
12. *Ernest Konnyu*
13. Norman Y. Mineta
14. *Norman D. Shumway*
15. Tony Coelho
16. Leon E. Panetta
17. *Charles Pashayan Jr.*
18. Richard H. Lehman
19. *Robert J. Lagomarsino*
20. *William M. Thomas*
21. *Elton Gallegly*
22. *Carlos J. Moorhead*
23. Anthony C. Beilenson
24. Henry A. Waxman
25. Edward R. Roybal
26. Howard L. Berman
27. Mel Levine
28. Julian C. Dixon
29. Augustus F. Hawkins
30. Matthew G. Martinez
31. Mervyn M. Dymally
32. Glenn M. Anderson
33. *David Dreier*
34. Esteban Edward Torres
35. *Jerry Lewis*
36. George E. Brown
37. *Al McCandless*
38. *Bob Dornan*
39. *William E. Dannemeyer*
40. *Robert E. Badham*
41. *Bill Lowery*
42. *Dan Lungren*
43. *Ron Packard*
44. Jim Bates
45. *Duncan L. Hunter*

COLORADO

Senate:
William L. Armstrong
Timothy E. Wirth

House:
1. Patricia Schroeder
2. David Skaggs
3. Ben Nighthorse Campbell
4. *Hank Brown*
5. *Joel Hefley*
6. *Dan L. Schaefer*

CONNECTICUT

Senate:
Lowell P. Weicker Jr.
Christopher J. Dodd

House:
1. Barbara B. Kennelly
2. Sam Gejdenson
3. Bruce A. Morrison
4. *Christopher Shays*
5. *John G. Rowland*
6. *Nancy L. Johnson*

DELAWARE

Senate:
William V. Roth Jr.
Joseph R. Biden Jr.

House:
AL Thomas R. Carper

FLORIDA

Senate:
Lawton Chiles
Bob Graham

House:
1. Earl Hutto
2. Bill Grant
3. Charles E. Bennett
4. Bill Chappell Jr.
5. *Bill McCollum*
6. Buddy MacKay
7. Sam Gibbons
8. *C. W. Bill Young*
9. *Michael Bilirakis*
10. *Andy Ireland*
11. Bill Nelson
12. *Tom Lewis*
13. *Connie Mack*
14. Daniel A. Mica
15. *E. Clay Shaw Jr.*
16. Larry Smith
17. William Lehman
18. Claude Pepper
19. Dante B. Fascell

GEORGIA

Senate:
Sam Nunn
Wyche Fowler Jr.

House:
1. Robert Lindsay Thomas
2. Charles Hatcher
3. Richard Ray
4. *Pat Swindall*
5. John Lewis
6. *Newt Gingrich*
7. George "Buddy" Darden
8. J. Roy Rowland
9. Ed Jenkins
10. Doug Barnard Jr.

HAWAII

Senate:
Daniel K. Inouye
Spark M. Matsunaga

House:
1. *Patricia Saiki*
2. Daniel K. Akaka

IDAHO

Senate:
James A. McClure
Steven Symms

House:
1. *Larry E. Craig*
2. Richard H. Stallings

ILLINOIS

Senate:
Alan J. Dixon
Paul Simon

House:
1. Charles A. Hayes
2. Gus Savage
3. Marty Russo
4. *Jack Davis*
5. William O. Lipinski
6. *Henry J. Hyde*
7. Cardiss Collins
8. Dan Rostenkowski
9. Sidney R. Yates
10. *John Edward Porter*
11. Frank Annunzio
12. *Philip M. Crane*
13. *Harris W. Fawell*
14. *J. Dennis Hastert*
15. *Edward R. Madigan*
16. *Lynn Martin*
17. Lane Evans
18. *Robert H. Michel*
19. Terry L. Bruce
20. Richard J. Durban
21. Melvin Price
22. Kenneth J. Gray

INDIANA

Senate:
Richard G. Lugar
Dan Quayle

House:
1. Peter J. Visclosky
2. Philip R. Sharp
3. *John Hiler*
4. *Dan Coats*
5. James Jontz
6. *Dan Burton*
7. *John T. Myers*
8. Frank McCloskey
9. Lee H. Hamilton
10. Andrew Jacobs Jr.

IOWA

Senate:
Charles E. Grassley
Tom Harkin

House:
1. *Jim Leach*
2. *Tom Tauke*
3. David R. Nagle
4. Neal Smith
5. *Jim Lightfoot*
6. *Fred Grandy*

KANSAS

Senate:
Robert Dole
Nancy Landon Kassebaum

House:
1. *Pat Roberts*
2. Jim Slattery
3. *Jan Meyers*
4. Dan Glickman
5. *Bob Whittaker*

KENTUCKY

Senate:
Wendell H. Ford
Mitch McConnell

House:
1. Carroll Hubbard Jr.
2. William H. Natcher
3. Romano L. Mazzoli
4. *Jim Bunning*
5. *Harold Rogers*
6. *Larry J. Hopkins*
7. Carl C. Perkins

LOUISIANA

Senate:
J. Bennett Johnston
John B. Breaux

House:
1. *Bob Livingston*
2. Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs
3. W. J. "Billy" Tauzin
4. Buddy Roemer
5. Jerry Huckaby
6. *Richard Baker*
7. Jimmy Hayes
8. *Clyde Holloway*

MAINE

Senate:
William S. Cohen
George J. Mitchell

House:
1. Joseph E. Brennan
2. *Olympia J. Snowe*

MARYLAND

Senate:

Paul S. Sarbanes

Barbara A. Mikulski

House:

1. Roy Dyson
2. *Helen Delich Bentley*
3. Benjamin L. Cardin
4. Thomas McMillen
5. Steny H. Hoyer
6. Beverly B. Byron
7. Kweisi Mfume
8. *Constance A. Morella*

MASSACHUSETTS

Senate:

Edward M. Kennedy

John Kerry

House:

1. *Silvio O. Conte*
2. Edward P. Boland
3. Joseph D. Early
4. Barney Frank
5. Chester G. Atkins
6. Nicholas Mavroules
7. Edward J. Markey
8. Joseph P. Kennedy II
9. Joe Moakley
10. Gerry Studds
11. Brian J. Donnelly

MICHIGAN

Senate:

Donald W. Riegle Jr.

Carl Levin

House:

1. John Conyers Jr.
2. *Carl D. Pursell*
3. Howard Wolpe
4. *Fred Upton*
5. *Paul B. Henry*
6. Bob Carr
7. Dale E. Kildee
8. Bob Traxler
9. *Guy Vander Jagt*
10. *Bill Schuette*
11. *Robert W. Davis*
12. David E. Bonior
13. George W. Crockett Jr.
14. Dennis M. Hertel
15. William D. Ford
16. John D. Dingell
17. Sander M. Levin
18. *William S. Broomfield*

MINNESOTA

Senate:

David Durenberger

Rudy Boschwitz

House:

1. Timothy J. Penny
2. *Vin Weber*
3. *Bill Frenzel*
4. Bruce F. Vento
5. Martin Olav Sabo
6. Gerry Sikorski
7. *Arlan Stangeland*
8. James L. Oberstar

MISSISSIPPI

Senate:

John C. Stennis

Thad Cochran

House:

1. Jamie L. Whitten
2. Mike Espy
3. G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery
4. Wayne Dowdy
5. *Trent Lott*

MISSOURI

Senate:

John C. Danforth

Christopher S. "Kit" Bond

House:

1. William Clay
2. *Jack Buechner*
3. Richard A. Gephardt
4. Ike Skelton
5. Alan Wheat
6. *E. Thomas Coleman*
7. *Gene Taylor*
8. *Bill Emerson*
9. Harold L. Volkmer

MONTANA

Senate:

John Melcher

Max Baucus

House:

1. Pat Williams
2. *Ron Marlenee*

NEBRASKA

Senate:
David Karnes
J. James Exon

House:
1. *Doug Bereuter*
2. *Hal Daub*
3. *Virginia Smith*

NEVADA

Senate:
Chic Hecht
Harry Reid

House:
1. James H. Bilbray
2. *Barbara F. Vucanovich*

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senate:
Gordon J. Humphrey
Warren B. Rudman

House:
1. *Robert C. Smith*
2. *Judd Gregg*

NEW JERSEY

Senate:
Bill Bradley
Frank R. Lautenberg

House:
1. James J. Florio
2. William J. Hughes
3. James J. Howard
4. *Christopher H. Smith*
5. *Marge Roukema*
6. Bernard J. Dwyer
7. *Matthew J. Rinaldo*
8. Robert A. Roe
9. Robert G. Torricelli
10. Peter W. Rodino Jr.
11. *Dean A. Gallo*
12. *Jim Courter*
13. *H. James Saxton*
14. Frank J. Guarini

NEW MEXICO

Senate:
Pete V. Domenici
Jeff Bingaman

House:
1. *Manuel Lujan Jr.*
2. *Joe Skeen*
3. Bill Richardson

NEW YORK

Senate:
Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Alfonse M. D'Amato

House:
1. George J. Hochbrueckner
2. Thomas J. Downey
3. Robert J. Mrazek
4. *Norman F. Lent*
5. *Raymond J. McGrath*
6. Floyd Flake
7. Gary L. Ackerman
8. James H. Scheuer
9. Thomas J. Manton
10. Charles E. Schumer
11. Edolphus Towns
12. Major R. Owens
13. Stephen J. Solarz
14. *Guy V. Molinari*
15. *Bill Green*
16. Charles B. Rangel
17. Ted Weiss
18. Robert Garcia
19. Mario Biaggi
20. *Joseph J. DioGuardi*
21. *Hamilton Fish Jr.*
22. *Benjamin A. Gilman*
23. Samuel S. Stratton
24. *Gerald B. H. Solomon*
25. *Sherwood Boehlert*
26. *David O'B Martin*
27. *George C. Wortley*
28. Matthew F. McHugh
29. *Frank Horton*
30. Louise M. Slaughter
31. *Jack F. Kemp*
32. John J. LaFalce
33. Henry J. Nowak
34. *Amory Houghton Jr.*

NORTH CAROLINA

Senate:
Jesse Helms
Terry Sanford

House:
1. Walter B. Jones
2. Tim Valentine
3. Martin Lancaster
4. David E. Price
5. Stephen L. Neal
6. *Howard Coble*
7. Charlie Rose
8. W. G. "Bill" Hefner
9. *J. Alex McMillan*
10. *Cass Ballenger*
11. James McClure Clarke

NORTH DAKOTA

Senate:
Quentin N. Burdick
Kent Conrad

House:
AL Byron L. Dorgan

OHIO

Senate:
John Glenn
Howard M. Metzenbaum

House:

1. Thomas A. Luken
2. *Bill Gradison*
3. Tony P. Hall
4. *Michael G. Oxley*
5. *Delbert L. Latta*
6. *Bob McEwen*
7. *Michael DeWine*
8. *Donald E. Lukens*
9. Marcy Kaptur
10. *Clarence E. Miller*
11. Dennis E. Eckart
12. *John R. Kasich*
13. Don J. Pease
14. Thomas C. Sawyer
15. *Chalmers P. Wylie*
16. *Ralph Regula*
17. James A. Traficant Jr.
18. Douglas Applegate
19. Edward F. Feighan
20. Mary Rose Oakar
21. Louis Stokes

OKLAHOMA

Senate:
David L. Boren
Don Nickles

House:

1. *James M. Inhofe*
2. Mike Synar
3. Wes Watkins
4. Dave McCurdy
5. *Mickey Edwards*
6. Glenn English

OREGON

Senate:
Mark O. Hatfield
Bob Packwood

House:

1. Les AuCoin
2. *Robert F. Smith*
3. Ron Wyden
4. Peter A. DeFazio
5. *Denny Smith*

PENNSYLVANIA

Senate:
John Heinz
Arlen Specter

House:

1. Thomas M. Foglietta
2. William H. Gray III
3. Robert A. Borski
4. Joe Kolter
5. *Richard T. Schulze*
6. Gus Yatron
7. *Curt Weldon*
8. Peter H. Kostmayer
9. *Bud Shuster*
10. *Joseph M. McDade*
11. Paul E. Kanjorski
12. John P. Murtha
13. *Laurence Coughlin*
14. William J. Coyne
15. *Don Ritter*
16. *Robert S. Walker*
17. *George W. Gekas*
18. Douglas Walgren
19. *Bill Goodling*
20. Joseph M. Gaydos
21. *Tom Ridge*
22. Austin J. Murphy
23. *William F. Clinger*

RHODE ISLAND

Senate:
Claiborne Pell
John H. Chafee

House:

1. Fernand J. St Germain
2. *Claudine Schneider*

SOUTH CAROLINA

Senate:
Strom Thurmond
Ernest F. Hollings

House:

1. *Arthur Ravenel Jr.*
2. *Floyd Spence*
3. Butler Derrick
4. Liz J. Patterson
5. John M. Spratt Jr.
6. Robin Tallon

SOUTH DAKOTA

Senate:
Larry Pressler
Thomas A. Daschle

House:
AL Tim Johnson

TENNESSEE

Senate:
Jim Sasser
Albert Gore Jr.

House:
1. *James H. Quillen*
2. *John J. Duncan*
3. Marilyn Lloyd
4. Jim Cooper
5. Bob Clement
6. Bart Gordon
7. *Don Sundquist*
8. Ed Jones
9. Harold E. Ford

TEXAS

Senate:
Lloyd Bentsen
Phil Gramm

House:
1. Jim Chapman
2. Charles Wilson
3. *Steve Bartlett*
4. Ralph M. Hall
5. John Bryant
6. *Joe L. Barton*
7. *Bill Archer*
8. *Jack Fields*
9. Jack Brooks
10. J. J. Pickle
11. Marvin Leath
12. Jim Wright
13. *Beau Boulter*
14. *Mac Sweeney*
15. E. "Kika" de la Garza
16. Ronald D. Coleman
17. Charles W. Stenholm
18. Mickey Leland
19. *Larry Combest*
20. Henry B. Gonzalez
21. *Lamar Smith*
22. *Thomas D. DeLay*
23. Albert G. Bustamante
24. Martin Frost
25. Michael A. Andrews
26. *Dick Armey*
27. Solomon P. Ortiz

UTAH

Senate:
Jake Garn
Orrin G. Hatch

House:
1. *James V. Hansen*
2. Wayne Owens
3. *Howard C. Nielson*

VERMONT

Senate:
Robert T. Stafford
Patrick J. Leahy

House:
AL *James M. Jeffords*

VIRGINIA

Senate:
John Warner
Paul S. Trible Jr.

House:
1. *Herbert H. Bateman*
2. Owen B. Pickett
3. *Thomas J. Bliley Jr.*
4. Norman Sisisky
5. Vacant
6. James R. Olin
7. *D. French Slaughter Jr.*
8. *Stan Parris*
9. Frederick C. Boucher
10. *Frank R. Wolf*

WASHINGTON

Senate:
Daniel J. Evans
Brock Adams

House:
1. *John R. Miller*
2. Al Swift
3. Don Bonker
4. *Sid Morrison*
5. Thomas S. Foley
6. Norman D. Dicks
7. Mike Lowry
8. *Rod Chandler*

WEST VIRGINIA

Senate:
Robert C. Byrd
John D. Rockefeller IV

House:
1. Alan B. Mollohan
2. Harley O. Staggers Jr.
3. Bob Wise
4. Nick J. Rahall II

WISCONSIN

Senate:
William Proxmire
Bob Kasten

House:
1. Les Aspin
2. Robert W. Kastenmeier
3. *Steve Gunderson*
4. Gerald D. Kleczka
5. Jim Moody
6. *Thomas E. Petri*
7. David R. Obey
8. *Toby Roth*
9. *F. James Sensenbrenner*

WYOMING

Senate:
Malcolm Wallop
Alan K. Simpson

House:
AL *Dick Cheney*

1988 CONGRESSIONAL RECESS SCHEDULE

Senate

February 8 - February 12
March 7 - March 11
April 1 - April 8
May 2 - May 6
May 30 - June 3
June 30 - July 5
July 18 - July 22
August 15 - September 6

Adjournment target date October 8

House

February 11 - February 15
April 1 - April 10
May 28 - May 31
July 1 - July 5
July 15 - July 25
August 12 - September 6

Adjournment target date October 5

Senators and Representatives are often in their home states and districts during recesses. You can visit them in their district offices at these times and tell them your opinions of budget cuts that hurt children. District offices are listed in the phone book.

KEY TERMS IN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Authorization: A legislative process whereby the "authorizing committees" in each house of Congress establish, continue, or change federal programs under their jurisdiction. "Authorization legislation" sets spending ceilings for programs, usually for a period of several years, and determines the basic requirements guiding program operation. Congressional rules require that programs be properly "authorized" before actual funds may be appropriated for them.

Appropriation: A legislative process whereby House and Senate Appropriations Committees set actual spending levels for federal programs each year, within the limits set by authorization legislation and budget resolutions. Federal programs and agencies are grouped into one of thirteen annual appropriations bills to be passed and signed by the President before the beginning of each fiscal year (October 1).

Continuing Resolution: Legislation that continues funding for federal programs for which Congress has not completed regular annual legislation by the beginning of the fiscal year. Continuing Resolutions are a form of stop-gap, often omnibus appropriations legislation. A Continuing Resolution must be passed by both houses of Congress and signed by the President.

Line Item Veto: A mechanism to allow the President to veto individual portions of the thirteen annual appropriations bills. Currently the President must sign or veto an entire appropriations bill, which contains funding for dozens of federal agencies, programs, or activities. A line item veto would allow the President to veto a particular "line" in the bill, excluding funding for only that particular program or activity (unless Congress overrode the veto), while approving the rest of the legislation. The Administration has proposed to provide the President with line item veto authority.

Entitlement Programs: Federal programs, such as Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Food Stamps, and Social Security, which are available to all persons who meet their eligibility requirements. Means-tested entitlements are provided to those eligible on the basis of income or "means," while non-means-tested entitlements have no income test. Funding for entitlement programs is contained in annual appropriations legislation, but the amount of such funding is set according to the level of benefits to be provided and the number of eligible persons "entitled" to receive them. Key decisions regarding eligibility and benefit levels are made by the authorizing committees.

Discretionary Programs: Federal programs, other than entitlements, for which each year's amount of spending is set at the "discretion" of the Appropriations Committees, within upper limits established by the authorizing legislation and the budget resolution. Many programs serving poor children and families, including Head Start, the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant, Immunizations, Child Welfare Services, Job Corps, and the Chapter I program for education of the disadvantaged, are discretionary programs.

Budget Resolution: Legislation, in the form of a concurrent resolution, that establishes general spending and revenue guidelines for the entire federal government each year. The President's proposed budget makes spending and revenue recommendations. Then Congress considers these recommendations, and adopts a Concurrent Budget Resolution that finally sets that government's spending and revenue limits in general categories called functions. The Concurrent Budget Resolution must be adopted by both houses of Congress, but does not require the President's signature.

Reconciliation: Legislation to implement the spending and revenue limits in the Concurrent Budget Resolution, including any actual program changes, tax changes, or spending changes necessary to achieve required budget savings.

APPENDIX C
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

OTHER RESOURCE ORGANIZATIONS

For additional information on programs and issues discussed in this book, we are listing a number of other organizations that can provide background information. At least one person is listed for each organization.

Food Stamps, WIC, Child Nutrition

Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., #305
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-0591
Bob Greenstein, Stefan Harvey

Food Research and Action Center/
National Anti-Hunger Coalition
1319 F Street, N.W., #500
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 393-5060
Ed Cooney

Low-Income Energy Assistance

National Consumer Law Center
236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., #504
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-6060
Chuck Hill

National Council of Senior Citizens
925 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 347-8800
Eric Shulman

Homelessness

Coalition for the Homeless
105 East 22nd Street
New York, NY 10010
(212) 460-8110
Bob Hayes

Low-Income Housing

National Low-Income Housing Coalition
1012 14th Street, N.W., #1006
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 662-1530
Barry Zigas

National Rural Housing Coalition
2001 S Street, N.W., #500
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 483-1504
Bob Rapoza

Civil Rights

National Urban League
1111 14th Street, N.W., Sixth Floor
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 898-1604
Dr. Douglas Glasgow

NAACP
1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., #820
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 638-2269
Althea Simmons

Leadership Conference on
Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 667-1780
Ralph Neas

NAACP Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.
Washington Office
806 15th Street, N.W., #940
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 638-3278
Phyllis P. McClure

Lawyers Committee for
Civil Rights Under Law
1400 I Street, N.W., #400
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 371-1212
Bill Robinson

Mexican American Legal
Defense and Educational
Fund
1430 K Street, N.W., #700
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 628-4074
Mario Moreno

National Council of LaRaza
20 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 628-9600
Hermi Cubillos

League of United Latin American
American Citizens
400 1st Street, N.W. Suite 721
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 628-8516
Norma Rivera

Hispanic Policy Development
Project
1001 Connecticut Avenue,
Suite 310
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 822-8414
Henry Santiestevan,
Rafael Valdivieso

National Congress of American
Indians
804 D Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-9404
Susan Shown Ajrjo

Americans for Indian
Opportunity
3508 Garfield Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 338-8809
LaDonna Harris

Japanese-American Citizen's League
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 223-1240
Grayce Uyehara

Organization of Chinese
Americans, Inc.
2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 916
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 223-5500
Frank Liu

Family Planning

The Alan Guttmacher Institute
2010 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., #500
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-4012
Asta Kenney

Planned Parenthood
Federation of America, Inc.
810 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10019
(212) 603-4600
Susan Newcomer,
Clara Haignere

Block Grants and Budget Priorities

Coalition on Human Needs
1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 342-0726
Susan Rees

Employment

National Employment Law
Project
475 Riverside Drive, #240
New York, N.Y. 10115
(212) 870-2121
Barbara Morris

Juvenile Justice/Runaway Youth

National Network of Runaway and Youth Services
905 6th Street, S.W., #411-B
Washington, D.C. 20024
(202) 488-0739
June Bucy

Ad Hoc Coalition for Juvenile Justice
905 6th Street, S.W., #411-B
Washington, D.C. 20024
(202) 488-0739
Jan Frohman, June Bucy

Adolescent Pregnancy

Support Center for School-Based Clinics
Center for Population Options
5650 Kirby, Suite 203
Houston, Texas 77005
(713) 664-7400
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- More than one-third of the homeless in America are members of families with children.
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- Each year about 1 million teenagers become pregnant.
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